

THE
NATIONAL
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

VOL. XXIV. No. XLVII. DEC., 1871.

NEW YORK:

EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,
658 BROADWAY.

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JANUARY 1, 1871.

ASSETS,	\$6,099,056 61
SURPLUS over Liabilities,	1,761,147 19
INCOME, 1870,	2,827,638 16
NUMBER of Policies—1870, issued,	9,065
Amount insured thereby,	19,466,761 00
NUMBER of Policies in force,	24,576
Amount insured thereby,	56,617,647 00
DIVIDENDS paid, 1870,	498,751 14
LOSSES by death—paid 1870,	500,466 11

Since the commencement of its business the Company has issued Policies upon more than

43,000 LIVES,

and it has paid in *LOSSES* nearly

ONE AND A QUARTER MILLION DOLLARS

to the families of those who have deceased while members of the Company.

The progress of the Company, for the last five years, has been as follows:

ASSETS AT END OF YEAR		SURPLUS AT END OF YEAR.	
1865	\$903,284 71	1865	\$481,541 41
1866	1,457,314 95	1866	585,917 51
1867	2,218,344 29	1867	819,315 23
1868	3,664,060 18	1868	1,382,199 68
1869	5,081,973 50	1869	1,868,904 50

Within the past five years the Assets of the Company have increased more than **FOUR AND A HALF MILLION DOLLARS**, notwithstanding over **HALF A MILLION DOLLARS** have been returned to Policy-holders in Dividends, and over **THREE QUARTERS OF A MILLION DOLLARS** paid for Losses by death during that period.

As evidence of the special care taken by the Company in the selection of risks, it may be mentioned, that its ratio of Losses paid to amount at risk is smaller than that of any other Company of equal age.

TABLE of COMPARISONS of the BUSINESS of the YEARS 1867, 1868 and 1869.

Number of Policies issued in 1867	5,811
" " " 1868	8,229
" " " 1869	8,623
Increase of 1868 over 1867—42 per cent.	
" " " 1869 over 1867—48 " "	
Income in 1867	\$2,179,044 28
" " " 1868	1,930,833 54
" " " 1869	1,432,779 00
Increase of 1868 over 1867—61 per cent.	
" " " 1869 over 1867—106 " "	

E. FESSENDEN,

J. F. BURNS, Secretary.

President.

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MR. HUGH B. JACKSON,

IMPORTER OF AND DEALER IN

Wines, Teas

—AND—

Fine Groceries,

Has removed his well-known establishment, for many years in Fifth Avenue Hotel Building, to

182 FIFTH AVENUE,

Mr. JACKSON has taken a lease, for twenty years, of the premises

182 Fifth Ave., bet. Twenty-second and Twenty-third Sts.,

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The new establishment will be provided with vaults, and all other appliances which science and experience have proved to be necessary for such a business.

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PROGRESS OF THE COMPANY.

INCOME AND EXPENSES.

Period.	Income.	Expenses.	Ratio of Expense to Income.
1853 to 1859—6 years.....	\$199,742.21	\$76,084.23	38.09
1859 to 1865—6 years.....	571,183.91	169,362.08	29.70
1865 to 1871—6 years.....	13,856,858.17	3,108,623.23	22.36
Total, 18 years.....	\$14,627,784.29	\$3,954,677.44	22.25

Ratio of Expense to Income for Year 1870, 13.94; being two per cent. less than the average of all the companies in the United States.

Increase in Assets.

Period.	
1853 to 1859—6 years.....	\$98,219.57
1859 to 1865—6 years.....	349,341.39
1865 to 1871—6 years.....	6,840,134.63
Total, 18 years.....	\$7,287,696.19
Add Capital Stock.....	\$100,000.00
Add Advance on Securities.....	7,962.91
ASSETS, Jan. 1, 1871.....	\$7,395,659.10

Paid to Policy Holders.

In losses.....	\$2,881,849.86
Dividends declared.....	1,380,437.85
Dividends paid in cash.....	955,424.55
For Matured Endowments and Surrendered Policies.....	108,135.95
Total paid to Policy Holders.....	\$5,365,410.69
Policies in force, Jan. 1, '71, 20,517	
Insurance at Risk.....	\$71,520,264.00

Ratio of Expense to Income Less than any New York Company, excepting one.

The Equitable Life Assurance Society OF THE UNITED STATES, No. 120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

ASSETS, FIFTEEN MILLION DOLLARS.
INCOME, \$7,500,000.00. ALL CASH.

PURELY MUTUAL. ANNUAL DIVIDENDS.

SUM ASSURED, NEW BUSINESS, in 1870,

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The insuring public should not allow itself to be deceived with regard to the term "Annual Dividend." Many companies using this expression mean that their dividends are "annual," AFTER THEY ONCE BEGIN TO PAY THEM AT ALL but they do NOT BEGIN TO PAY until the settlement of the *third, fourth, or fifth premium.*

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LEE & SHEPARD, Publishers, Boston.

THE
NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. XLVII.

DECEMBER, 1871.

- ART. I.—1. *Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache und alten Literatur.* (*History of the Bohemian Language and Literature.*) Von JOS. DOBROWSKY. Prag.
2. *Geschichte der Slavischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten.* (*History of the Slavic Literature &c.*) Von PAUL JOSEPH SCHAFFARIK. Ofen.
3. *Historie Literatury České áneb sástauný prehled spisu Ceskyck, s Krátkau Historij Narodu, Oswicenj a Gazyka.* Pracj JOSEFA JUNGMANNA, Dóktora Filosofie a Professora Humanitnjho. W. Praze. (*History of Bohemian Literature, &c.* By Dr. JOSEPH JUNGMANN. Prague, 1825).

A ROMANTIC interest attaches to the mountain-circled region known to us as Bohemia. Politically, this country has undergone many vicissitudes, and the names of such famous men as John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and John Zizka, will keep the memory of their land fresh in all men's recollection. While they were a nation, this people possessed a literature as unique and romantic as the country where it had birth. The efforts of the Austrian conquerors, especially of Joseph II., to crush out the national feeling and to cause the language to fall into desuetude, produced its effect upon the literature of the land, and in mod-

ern times the Bohemians can show little that promises a revival of their former excellence in letters.*

Of the Slavonian dialects the Bohemian, or Cechian, was the first which was moulded into a grammatical form, and more than any other language of its class does it resemble the German. As a distinct dialect it has been traced to the sixth century. The old Bohemian alphabet consisted of forty-two letters; the church Slavonian of forty-six. The Bohemians, when striving to perfect their native tongue, adopted the Roman characters, which compels the use of many accent marks to represent the peculiar sounds of the language, and requires a collocation of consonants which looks more harsh than is warranted by the nature of the speech itself—some words appearing, indeed, to those unacquainted with the principles of Slavonian pronunciation, absolutely unutterable. It is to be regretted that the study of the Latin caused this change of the written characters, as the original alphabet much more plainly represented the sounds of the language than do the combinations of impossible consonants, and the liberal supply of accents which now make the printed page appear such a barbarous jargon. The origin of the Bohemian tongue has not yet been discovered. It contains a number of Sanskrit roots and words, and among the peasantry still exist old rites and myths of unquestionable pagan origin. Some contend that the Slavic languages are not of Sanskrit, but of Greek origin.†

The Bohemian tongue has a perfection of tenses which is in some respects even superior to that of the classic languages in nicety of expression. It resembles in its construction the Latin, and also bears some analogy to the Greek. In it the classic metres can be reproduced with considerable nicety, though the tendency to accent the first syllable of every word causes some difficulty. It owes much to the German, and has some Teutonic peculiarities. This language can hardly

* Kollar thus divides the periods of European letters: "Slavonian dawn, German day, English mid-day, French afternoon, Spanish night."

† See Dankovsky, *Die Griechen als Sprachverwandte der Slaven*. "Of three sisters, one kept faithful to her mother tongue—the Slavic language; the second gave to that common heritage the highest cultivation—the Greek language; the third mixed the mother tongue with a foreign idiom—the Latin language."

be called a euphonious one, though the natives adapt their ballads readily to music of which they are very fond.*

Of the early history of the Slavic nations we have no definite accounts. The most ancient historians speak of the several tribes as speaking different dialects. They have been variously classified, but in modern times are divided by Dobrowsky and others into north-western and south-eastern stems, having reference to their origin.† The various branches of these existing at the present day are the Russian, the Illyrico-Servian, the Bulgarian, the Czekho-Slovakian, the Polish or Leckian, and the Sorabian-Vendish. There are also a number of tribes scattered through Germany, Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and other parts of Turkey.‡ The southern Slavi were neighbors of the Greeks and in constant intercourse with them, and it is highly probable that their language and the germs of their literature were affected by this contact.§

A Celtic race, known as the Boii, inhabited Bohemia until the sixth century: hence the name, originally Boiohemum, home of the Boii, in German Böhmen or Böhmen. This tribe were driven out by the Markomans, but the land still retained their name. The Markomans were in turn conquered by the Lombards, and in the middle of the sixth century, after the overthrow of Thuringia, there was a great migration of Slavic

* That an excess of consonants does not necessarily produce harshness, we have the opinion of eminent authority. "Euphony and feminine softness of language are two very different things. It is true that in most of the Slavic dialects, with the exception of the Servian, the consonants are predominant; but if we consider a language in a philosophical point of view, the consonants, as being the signs of ideas, and the vowels, as being mere bearers in the service of the consonants, appear in a quite different light. The more consonants, the richer is a language in ideas. *Exempla sunt in promptu.*"—Schaffarik, *Geschichte*, etc.

† See Adelung's *Mithridates*, and Schaffarik's *Slavic Ethnography*.

‡ Kopitar has shown that a people inhabiting ancient Sparta, and whose language is unintelligible to the Greeks, speak a tongue of Slavic origin. See the *Wiener Jahrbücher*, vol. xvii.

§ Schlöger, speaking of the old Slavic, says: "Its model was the Greek language, in those days the most cultivated in the world; although Cedrenus no longer wrote like Xenophon. No idiom was more capable than the Slavonic of adopting the beauties of the Greek." See his *Nestor*, iii., p. 224.

tribes into Germany. The Czekhes, a people from Belo-Chrobatia, on the Upper Vistula, settled in Bohemia. The name of this tribe is by some supposed to have been derived from their chief, Czekh, and by others from *czeti*, or *czjti*, to begin.* The Moravians, or as they called themselves, Morawczik, from *Morawa*, a morass, were a kindred race, but the two nations remained entirely distinct until the year 1029.

The early history of the Bohemians is enveloped in fable. There are myths of the founder Czekh, the hero of the old chronicles, Samo, of Krok, the wise and just, and of the beautiful princess Libusa, who is said to have founded Prague, and who chose for her husband the peasant Perzmislas, in preference to any of the noble suitors by whom her hand was sought. How much is truth and how much poetic fiction in these legends, it is impossible to determine. For a long time Bohemia was an independent nation, at first under dukes, and from the year 1198 under kings, until 1306, when the last descendant of Perzmislas was murdered. Soon after the crown fell to the house of Luxemburg, and became united to the Roman empire. The country was at the acme of its greatness during the reign of the Emperor Charles IV., who founded the University of Prague.

Schools were early established in Bohemia. The old chroniclers tell us that at a remote period a school was founded at Budecz, and another, in which Latin was taught, in Prague. Soltykowiez, a Pole, says that Casimir the Great founded the high school at Cracow in 1347.†

Of the literature of Bohemia, we have no well authenticated remains previous to the conversion of the people to Christianity, which event took place in 845. In that year fourteen Bohemian princes were baptized at Ratisbon. In 894, Duke Borzivog, then the head of the nation, received Christian baptism. The greater portion of the people, however, afterwards relapsed into idolatry, and Christianity was not firmly estab-

* Dobrowsky, *Ueber den Ursprung des Namen Czech*.

† This is doubtful. The Papal privilege for the university of Prague was granted in 1347, and the imperial charter in 1348.—Dobrowsky.

lished until the later part of the tenth century. Methodius and Cyril were the principal instruments in the early conversion. The latter translated the Bible into Slavic, and this is still considered an excellent monument of the old language. He also celebrated mass in the native tongue, for which he was at first censured by Pope John VIII., but on representations by Methodius, was permitted to have singing in Slavic, and to explain the Latin words of the service in the vernacular. Wenceslaw introduced from Saxony and Swabia a number of German priests who aided greatly in enriching the language. Of the period previous to the introduction of Christianity there remain no literary records but some Latin chronicles which contain merely the names of Slavic poems. What is regarded as the oldest perfect specimen of Bohemian is a hymn credited to Adalbert, second bishop of Prague who lived in the tenth century.* It is simply a translation of the *Kyrie eleison*. A version of the Lord's Prayer is assigned nearly the same date.

In the year 1822 there was published in *Krok*,† a Bohemian literary periodical, a poem called "Sand Libusin," or judgment of Libusa. It was reprinted, and copied into a translation of the Russian Imperial Academy, and made a decided sensation, its apparent antiquity and considerable excellence exciting admiration and controversy. The authenticity of these fragments has been vehemently maintained and as strongly denied by eminent Bohemian authority; but the weight of probability seems to be against their genuineness.‡ The "Sand Libusin" is a simple narrative possessing more of a tender and romantic, and less of a warlike character than is usual with poetry of the period at which it is claimed to have been written. We give some extracts, of which the translation§ fails to do justice to the simple beauty of the original:

* Dobrowsky believes it to be a translation of a Hungarian hymn. Hajek says that Adalbert brought it from Rome inscribed on parchment.

† Vol. I., p. iii.

‡ Hanka, Czelalowsky, Schaffarik and others have maintained the genuineness of these poems, but the contrary opinion has been ably sustained and especially by Dobrowsky.

§ By Bowring.

"Our sun, our protection,
Thou Vysehrad fortress,
Though haughty and daring
Above the steeps rising,
Upon the rocks standing,
The enemy's terror,

* * * *

O were I the songster,
Deep, deep, in the forest

"My wings should convey me
To roam with my loved one,
Late, late in the evening,
When love is inspiring
All life, all creation,
And passionate longings
Through nature are throbbing,
I long, hapless mortal,
For thee, thou divine one;
O pity my sorrow!"

The most valuable remains of ancient Bohemian literature are contained in the celebrated manuscript known as the "Königinhof" (*Rukopis Kralodworsky*) manuscript of the queen's court, discovered by the librarian W. Hanke, in a chamber of the church of Kralodworsky buried among rubbish and valueless parchments. The MS. is supposed to belong to the period between 1290 and 1310.* The work appears originally to have been comprised in three books, of which a part of only one is preserved. The date of the original composition of the poems was undoubtedly the eighth or ninth century. The pieces in this work are mostly ballads and lyrical poems, of an historical character. They are remarkable for simplicity and strength, and for smooth versification. The first fragment is the "Oldrich o Boleslaw," of which not enough remains to make the story intelligible. The second is the "Benesh Hermanow," an account of the overthrow of the Saxons. The third, "Jaroslaw," is a description of a battle between Christians and Tartars near Olmutz in 1241.

Kubla Khan, of Tartary, had a beautiful daughter who had heard of the western country and desired to visit those regions, the accounts of which had inflamed her imagination.

"Kublajevna, beautiful as Luna,
Heard of lands and people towards the evening."

She summons ten young men to act as her escort, and two maidens as attendants.

* Dobrowsky.

"Richly for her journey she provided,
All were mounted on the swiftest coursers,
And departed for the western sunset.
As the dawn of morning brightly shineth
When it rises in the gloomy forest,

Shone in dazzling and in native beauty
And magnificence Khan Kubla's daughter.
She was covered o'er with golden garments,
While her neck and bosom, each, uncovered
Wore the costliest wreaths of pearls and jewels."

She reaches Germany where the display of wealth excites
the cupidity of the barbarous Teutons:

"Such a splendor dazzled all the Germans,
And they coveted the costly treasures.
Tracked her footsteps as she hastened forward,
Overtook her in the darksome forest,
Murdered her and all her treasures plundered."

The Khan Kubla, informed of his daughter's murder, assembles an army, and, after consulting his magicians, marches to avenge her. A battle is joined, which at first seems to be favorable to the Christians:

"But the heathen sorcerers hurried forward,
Bearing in their hands the bar of magic;
Re-awakened valor filled the Tartars,
And they rushed infuriate on the Christians,
And the Christians fled; anon the heathen
Sprang like raging beasts among the flying.
Shields lay here—here decorated helmets—
Here a horse dragged down his knightly rider;
There 'neath Tartar hoofs a knight was lying,
Not to conquer, no, to perish only.
There another cried on God's good mercy."

The Tartars prevail, and possess themselves of Kiev and Novgorod, and lay grievous burdens upon the people. The Slavonians make many vain efforts to effect their deliverance. The Tartars push on to Olmutz. Wneslaw assembles the Bohemians, and they attempt to stem the advance of the heathen, but are driven to the highest part of a mountain, where they

suffer greatly from hunger and thirst. Weneslaw is killed by an arrow, and his followers are about to surrender, when Wratislaw, denouncing them as cowards and traitors, calls upon them to follow him to the shrine of the Virgin. They here entreat the pity of Heaven, and rain falls, their thirst is quenched. They attack the Tartars repeatedly; in one battle Jaroslaw thrusts his lance through the son of Kubla; the Tartars are defeated and retire eastwardly, and the land is at peace. There are three other historical ballads in this collection, all of which have features of extraordinary interest as poems of so early a date. There are also seven or eight lyric pieces.

Besides these there is little from this period but poems of a religious nature, with a few love songs and tales. There is a fragment of a rhymed history of the passion, a legend of the twelve apostles, and a hymn in praise of the Bohemian saint, Wenceslaus. There is also a Bohemian Psalter, with rhymed *Te Deum*, office for the dead, prayer for the intercession of saints, and other formularies. Of earliest historians Cosmas and Vincentius flourished in the eleventh century. Both wrote in Latin, and the chronicle of the first only is extant.

The increase of the German influence from this epoch, and especially in the fourteenth century, interfered greatly with the production of native literature. German fashions in dress, manners and speech prevailed at court, and the king kept a German body guard. The emperor, Charles IV. curtailed the privileges of the Germans in his kingdom, and granted to the Bohemians reciprocal rights in the German empire. This monarch was also Charles I., of Bohemia, uniting the titles of emperor and king. The capital was greatly enriched and embellished, and in the year 1348 the University of Prague was founded. From this period until 1410 it was resorted to by Polish, Swedish, Hungarian and German students. At the commencement of the fifteenth century the average number of students was twenty thousand. There were a number of German professors, besides eminent Bohemians, among whom were John Huss, Jerome, and Jacobellus, distinguished for their opposition to the Church of Rome. The decline of this university commenced in 1410. Charles IV., to attract students and professors from

abroad, had decreed that the Bohemians should have but one suffrage in the senate while three were accorded to foreigners. This created jealousy among the natives, and in 1409 the king was induced to reverse the proportion giving three suffrages to the Bohemians and only one to the Germans. In consequence, all the German professors and students left Prague, and the universities of Leipzig, Rostock and Ingolstadt were founded, while those of Heidelberg, Erfurt and Cracow were benefited. The university of Prague never recovered from this blow, though it continued for some time to hold a position of eminence.

The fourteenth century was productive of much creditable literature in Bohemia, though poetry was less flourishing than prose. The diffusion of learning consequent upon the establishment of the university contributed greatly to the dissemination of taste. The result was a severer critical judgment of literary works, but at the same time a falling off in originality and freedom. One of the earliest works of this period was a chronicle in Bohemian rhymes, "the *Kronyka Ceska*," believed to have been written by Dalimil Mezericky, canon of Altbunzlau. It extends back to the year 1313, and was finished about 1318, being written in the reign of King John father of Charles IV. Its object was to give expression to the national hatred of the Germans whose influence was then at its height. It is of no value as an historical work, and has little merit as a poem, but is very bitter and virulent. It was for more than two hundred years a favorite with the Bohemian people, but was suppressed by the Austrians as being too ultra-national.* There is another chronicle of this period, written by order of Charles IV., first in Latin, but afterwards translated into Bohemian. Benesh, of Horowie, in the year 1400, translated from the German the *Martimiani* or *Roman* chronicle. Another work was a chronicle of the Roman emperors, translated from the Latin by Laurentius of Brezow. There were also several collections of laws and a number of philological works,

* Dobrowsky says of the author of this work, "He is not ashamed of many gross lies." It was first published in 1620.

including seven dictionaries, one of which was written in hexameters.

The greater part of the poetry of this epoch consists of allegorical compositions and works of fiction, a sort of novel in verse. A number of poetical effusions supposed to belong to this era are included in Hanka's "*Starobyta Skladdnie*," a collection of curious poems from MSS. in the library of Prague Cathedral. "*Alan*" is an octosyllabic poem of over 1500 lines on the restoration of man to primeval perfection. There are also the "*Sedm radosty Panny Marie*," the seven joys of the Virgin Mary; "*O smrtelluosti*," the memory of death; "*O Sedmi Stuaniciech*," the five sources of sin, and "*Sedmezciema Blaznow*," six and twenty sorts of fools. Nearly all of these are in octosyllabic verse, and belong to a period not later than the fifteenth century. The following extracts are from a song of love, "*Zwelikyek dobrodrnzstwj*," of an ancient date though the precise period of its composition is not known.*

" Love calls me from my deeds of fame
To his own sweeter service—I
Summon each cherished maiden's name
And ask, to which my soul should fly,
And seek with her a brighter glory
Than ever filled the page of story.

* * * * *

" But sorrows hurry love away,
And love retires, but sorrows stay.
Wilt thou forgive me, Nina, say!
If to my bosom's warmth I press
Thy bright, sweet, dawning loveliness!
Yet still with chaste desire, for thou
To no licentious will would'st bow."

To this age also belong the *Life of Alexander*, and the *History of Troy*, from the Latin, and an epic, "*The Bohemian Alexander*," of which some fragments were discovered not long since in the archives of Budweis by Professor Kaubeck. The great majority of the poems of this century are of an ecclesias-

* From vol. v. of Hanka's *Starobyta Skladdanie*.

tical or didactic character, and consist principally of fables, satires, and legends.

The best part of the talent of the age was devoted to theology, controversies respecting points of faith and authority, which culminated later in events of world-wide and lasting celebrity, having been already inaugurated. Previous to 1370 was written a treatise upon the great distress of the church, by John Milicz. This work was afterwards included in the famous *Index librorum prohibitorum*, first printed in 1629, whose original author was the Jesuit Koniash. There were a number of other religious treatises, including a translation of Rabbi Samuel's work on the coming of the Messiah. The greater part of the Bible had been translated into Bohemian previous to the latter half of the fourteenth century. There were several translations of the Psalter, and of the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel; also the Sunday lessons from the Gospels.

The Bohemian mind tends naturally to theology. The common people are unusually religious, and the literature of the country exhibits this proclivity. Up to nearly the times of Huss and Jerome, polemical discussion had been confined generally to the priesthood and the educated classes, but at this period the spirit of inquiry seemed to pervade all ranks. The intercourse which sprung up between Bohemia and England consequent upon the marriage of Ann, sister of King Wenceslaus, to Richard II., caused the writings of Wickliffe to be introduced into the former country. Huss translated a number of these works, and thus commenced a theological revolution. A complete translation of the Bible appeared and was distributed among the people. Huss wrote a number of controversial treatises, among the most celebrated of which were those "On the Church," and a pamphlet entitled "The six Errors." Hieronymus von Faulfisch, commonly known as Jerome of Prague, joined Huss, and wrote a number of religious books and hymns in Bohemian. Jacobellus, another professor in the university, wrote many religious treatises, including commentaries on the Epistles, sermons, and also hymns.

The condemnation and execution of Huss and Jerome by the Council of Constance, and the bloody wars which followed,

produced a considerable effect upon the literature of Bohemia. A hymn believed to have been written by the Hussite champion, Zizka, was in the mouths of all his followers, and was sung by his army when about to engage in battle. We give two stanzas :

" Ye champions who maintain
 God's everlasting law,
 Call on his name again,
 And towards his presence draw ;
 And soon your steady march your foes shall overawe.
 * * * * * * *
 " Then to the bloody fight !
 One only word—on ! on !
 Your weapons for the right,
 And God your trust alone ;
 Smite ! smite ! let none be spared, let mercy be for none."

The number of theological pamphlets produced at this era was enormous. One was written by a woman, while others of the sex were engaged in making copies of the Bible.* A beneficial result of this religious ferment was the cultivation and improvement of the Bohemian tongue. Previously the language of the learned had been the Latin ; it was the sole medium of communication at the university, and the greater part of the literary works of the fourteenth century were written in it. The sect known as Taborites† held services in Bohemian as early as 1423. The Calixtins, another sect, even held mass in their own language. The printing press was employed as early as 1475, to produce a copy of the New Testament ; the Psalter was printed in 1487, and the entire Bible in 1488, at Prague.‡ In Moravia the Latin was formally ex-

* Eneas Sylvius praises the women of the Taborites for their knowledge of the Scriptures, but the Abbot Stephen, of Dolan in Moravia, reproves them for meddling in ecclesiastical affairs.

† From *Tabor*, a Turkish or Magyar word, signifying a field or camp.

‡ There is some dispute as to the time of the first introduction of printing into Bohemia. Jungmann says (*Historie*, etc.) that the first work printed was a letter from Huss to Jakaubek, in 1459 ; the second, the chronicle of Troy, 1468, and the third, the New Testament. Dobrowsky says that the New Testament of 1475

changed for the Bohemian at the session of the Estates in 1480; in Bohemia the change was not made until 1495. Albert, duke of Bavaria, was educated at the court of king Wenceslaus, and being called to the Bohemian throne in 1441, his knowledge of the language was serviceable both to the court and the people. George Podiebrad, a succeeding sovereign, was a native of the country, and under his reign the Bohemian became the court language. In the reign of Vladislaus, all the ordinances and decrees were issued in the vernacular. The effect of these innovations was the cultivation and enriching of the native tongue. The classics were extensively studied, and near the close of the fifteenth century most of them were translated into Bohemian.

It would be expected that writings having reference to ecclesiastical affairs would be numerous at this epoch. A life of Huss, by Mladienowicz, was very popular in its day, from the general interest of the subject, and was for some time read aloud in the churches. Of Catholic authors, Litomierzicky, Rosenberg, bishop of Breslau, and Simon of Tishnow, wrote upon the eucharist. On the other side, Rokycana, archbishop of the Calixtins, Koranda and others contended for the sacrament in both kinds for the laity. Many theological pamphlets and treatises were of a satirical character. Uricz of Kalenicz wrote what purported to be a letter from Lucifer to Lew of Rozhmital. Bohuslav of Czechtiez prepared a work very profusely, and, for the times, elegantly illustrated, entitled "Mirror of all Christendom."* The shoemaker Chelcicky wrote commentaries on the Sunday Lessons of the Gospels, though he knew nothing of the ancient languages, and a popular work, *Kopyta*, "the shoe last." Another book much read by the common people was "The Sprinkling Brush" of Martin Lupacz. Of MSS. of the Bible of this period thirty-three copies remain, and of the New Testament twenty-two. They are all made from the Vulgate.†

was the first work printed in Bohemian. See Dobrowsky's *Geschichte der böhm Sprache*.

* See Dobrowsky, *Reise nach Schweden* and *Geschichte der böhm Sprache*.

† Dobrowsky, *Reise nach Schweden* and *Cit. Magazin für Böhmen*.

There were a number of political and politico-religious works produced at this time, of which we mention, "On the goods of the Clergy," by Stiber of Cimburg, an ingenious composition in the form of a novel. Marco Polo's and Mandeville's travels were translated into Bohemian. There were several other accounts of travels and descriptions of foreign countries. The statutes, decrees of diets, and similar papers, which had been previously written in Latin, were translated into the language of the country.* Bartosh of Drahenicz wrote in Latin a chronicle from 1419 to 1493. Zidek wrote what he called a universal history which forms the third part of his "Instructions on Government," and also a cyclopædia in Latin. Procopius brought out a new rhymed chronicle. The fifteenth century produced many medical treatises and also several works of instruction in botany. Of the former, Albik and Gallus wrote in Latin, and Christian Prachatitzky, John Czerny, and Claudian in Bohemian.

The greater part of the poetry of this age is connected with religious subjects. Both catholic and Hussite writers composed legends and lives of fathers and saints, in prose and rhyme. There are a great many hymns, a number of Taborite battle-songs, and a quantity of satirical poems. The chronicle of Brokop, consisting of eleven hundred octosyllabic verses, written by the historiographer of Prague, is referred by Dobrowsky to the middle of the fifteenth century.† Of popular poetry there is not a great deal belonging to this epoch, but there are some pieces which show that in the tumults of religious controversy and war the taste of the common people for homely ballads and songs had not deserted them. The following *morceau* of domestic philosophy is from a MS. in the archives of Schwarzenberg:

" Master weak and mistress strong,
Then be sure the house goes wrong,
Where the mistress master rules
One's a fool, or both are fools."

A comic vein runs through many of the poems of this period,

* Dobrowsky *Geschichte*, &c.

† It was first published in Hanka's collection above alluded to.

and gives point to an effective satire. From a poem on wine and medicine we extract a stanza :

“ Full well the doctor knows, the doctor knows full well
That wine, that wine's the thing to work a miracle ;
O would the doctor come, and drink with us awhile,
Soon would he shout for wine, and not for chamomile.”

One of the most distinguished of the Bohemian poets of this era was Hynek of Poeliehrad, fourth son of king George. He is mentioned by the chroniclers of his country as a highly accomplished gentleman and a very estimable person. The authors of a great many poems of this age remain unknown. The love-poetry of the Bohemians is generally tender and graceful ; warm but refined. It has many dainty conceits and metaphors.

“ To love and not to see her face
Is darkness and no lamp-star o'er it ;
To see, without one dear embrace,
Is a dark field without a floweret.”

The people of this country do not often abandon themselves to a reckless gaiety ; there is too much sincerity and homely simplicity in their nature. They have some of the Teutonic love for the grotesque, but more of a domestic humor which reminds one of the Scotch. A “ Beggars' Song ” bears a considerable resemblance to Burns' cantata, but has an apparent vein of deeper seriousness.

“ Up, beggars, be joyful, for joy is our own
Our garments are raining, and bald is our crown ;
Beloved, want presses us, what shall we do ?
Why want is one woe, discontent would make two.

“ Let's in to the inn, though we stay but a minute,
For the bottle looks mournful when nothing is in it,
Legs weary, bags empty, and what shall we do ?
Why, bearing one burden, we need not make two.”

The epoch from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the battle of White Mountain in 1620, the Bohemians designate as the golden period of their literature. The awakening

consequent upon religious and political convulsions in the preceding era bore fruit in the following in accelerated productiveness in letters. A taste for reading was diffused among the common people who had been roused to mental activity by the religious wars and controversies. It is much to the credit of the Bohemian revolutionists, that, whatever excesses they were guilty of, they never allowed fanaticism to run to the length of destroying the beautiful in art, or of disregarding or condemning works of imagination. Learning and letters were assiduously cultivated, and the effect of the revolution was a more general diffusion of taste among the common people. Classical literature was especially cultivated with the most beneficial results. The invention of printing had a powerful influence upon the dissemination of knowledge and the cultivation of taste during this age.

In the reign of Maximilian II. and that of his son Rudolph, art, science and literature flourished under an enlightened patronage. Many eminent foreigners were invited to court, including Tycho Brahe and Kepler. The language was greatly improved, which, however, did not prevent the learned from generally preferring the Latin. The laws were circulated, and the mass celebrated in the language of the people. Benesh Optat published the first Bohemian grammar in 1533; a second, by Beneshowsky, appeared in 1577, and a third, by Slovak Benedicti, in 1603. These, and especially Weleslawin, fixed the Bohemian orthography and the principles of the language.

Numerous translations of the classics appeared at this time. A noble citizen of Prague, George Hraby Gelsenshky, translated and published Petrarch's letters, several treatises of Cicero, and many other classical works. Konacz and Ulric of Welensky, translated Lucian; Krupsky, Plutarch; Ginterod, Xenophon's Cyropaedia; Koeyn, the history of Eusebius and Casiodorus. Many other learned and noble scholars gave versions of ancient writings.

Theological works appeared in great numbers. Lucas was one of the most prolific of these writers, and, besides a number of religious treatises, he prepared a hymn-book for the use of the Bohemian brethren. His works display great erudition

and considerable polemical ability.* Of catholic writers, Pishek, surnamed Scribonius, and the jesuits Sturm and Hostowin wrote controversial treatises. Others made translations of the fathers and wrote allegories. The first translation of the New Testament from the original Greek was made in 1563, by Blahoslav, president of the Bohemian brethren. The first translation of the whole Bible from the original tongue, was made by Nicolai, Helic, Æneas, Strye, Coepolla, Ephraim, Jesenius, and Capito. It was printed in superior style in 1579, by Baron John of Zherotin, who established a printing office at his castle of Kralicz, in Moravia, expressly for the purpose. This version is regarded to the present day as a model in typography and language. Nicholas Klaudian wrote and edited a number of medical works, and assisted in the translation of Lactantius and Seneca. Of the remains of this period a great proportion consists of sermons, and the production of hymns was very considerable.

In history there were some creditable productions by Hazek, Kuthen, Procopius, Lupacz, Weleslawin, Placel, Kocin, and others. There were a number of books of travel, the most remarkable being Count Wratisslaw's description of his embassadorial trip from Vienna to Constantinople, Harant's travels in Egypt and Palestine, and Charles of Zherotin's letters. A number of political and law writers flourished in this era, and also many upon medical and natural science. Of these we mention Hazek, physician to the Emperors Maximilian and Rudolph, who was eminent as an astronomer; Zhelotyn, a medical and mathematical writer; Zaluzhonsky, physician and botanist; Codicillus, and Shud.†

Notwithstanding the great productiveness of this age, it brought out little in poetry of a general or lasting interest. The greater part of the poems left us are of a religious character, and, of course, are didactic and generally insipid. The earnestness of the writers, and, in a few instances, the excellence of their versification, redeem some of them from utter worth-

* For a list of his works see Dobrowsky's *Geschichte*, etc.

† See Jungmann's *Historie Literatur Ceske*.

lessness. The hymns composed at this time, however, were suited to the temper of the people, and excited a degree of enthusiasm which we should suppose entirely disproportioned to their merits. Of poets who wrote principally or exclusively upon religious subjects, we may mention Reshatko, Gryllus, Horský, Taborský, Chmelowecz, Karlsbey, and Hanush. The most eminent of them was Simon Lominecky von Budec, the only Bohemian laureate. He wrote twenty-eight volumes comprising considerable varieties of effort and of merit.* His versification is often harsh, but his poems have many traits of comic and satirical talent. The greater number of the secular poets of the day wrote in Latin.

The majority of the works in the period following were ecclesiastical, consisting of dogmatic theology and lives of the saints. There was not even the stimulus of controversy, the successful party having everything their own way. Some of the catholic fathers produced creditable works in the vernacular. Such were the Jesuits, Konstanz Steyer, and Drachowsky, who wrote grammatical treatises, and Peshina, Hammerschmidt, and Beckowsky, authors of histories. Another Jesuit, Balbin, professor of rhetoric at Prague, produced several works of value in the departments of history and bibliography.†

Comenius, or Komensky, the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, was one of the most illustrious men of his day. After the persecutions of his sect commenced he fled to Poland, where he acquired great influence among the refugees, and was elected their bishop. In 1631 he published his *Janua linguarum reserata*, a treatise developing a new method of teaching languages and of applying them to the acquisition of other knowledge. This work gained for him a universal reputation, as it was translated into twelve European languages, and also into Persian, Arabic, and Mongolian. He went to England in 1641, and thence to Sweden, in both cases by invitation to re-

* See Jungmann's *Historie*, etc.

† His writings are in Latin, and among the most important are *Epitome rer Bohem.*, *Miscellanea hist. rer. Bohem.*, and *Bohemia docta*, the last, with several others of his works not being published until after his death.

model the schools. After extensive travels he settled at Amsterdam, where he died in 1671. He is said to have written ninety-two works,* of which fifty-four are now extant, twenty being in the Bohemian language. Among the most celebrated of his works are the "*Labirynt swieta a rag srdce*, or "The World's Labyrinth and Heart's Paradise," and the *Orbis Pictus*, believed to be the first picture-book for children ever published. The style of Comenius is classical and elegant; he had considerable invention, and was possessed of profound learning. Paul Stransky, another exile, wrote a history of Bohemia in Latin, which was translated and annotated by Cornova in 1792. Krman and Bel, Bohemian pastors, executed a new edition of the Bible in their native tongue, and also translated several of the works of Luther and other protestants. There were a number of hymn writers in this age, of whom we may mention Hrushkowie, Glosius, and Augustini.

In 1774 began what is termed the revival of Bohemian letters. In that year the marshal count Kirskey published a work with the purpose of arousing his countrymen to the importance of a knowledge of the Bohemian language and an acquaintance with its literature. Soon after was republished an apology for the vernacular, written in Latin a hundred years previously by the Jesuit, Balbin. An interest in this language, which had fallen almost entirely into disuse, was awakened by these publications. Teachers of Bohemian were appointed in the University of Vienna, and the royal normal school of Prague printed books for instruction in it. Many of the most important native works, copies of which had escaped the flames, were reprinted and circulated arousing general interest. In 1786 a Bohemian theatre was established by the government. In 1793 a professorship of Bohemian literature was founded in the University of Prague, and the use of the language in the schools of the country was ordained. In 1818 a law was passed making a knowledge of the Bohemian tongue a necessary qualification for holding office.

With the revival of an interest in the old literature a hos

* Adelung.

of new writers sprang into existence. A number of them deserve special praise for their efforts to make the ancient writings of their country appreciated. The most worthy of these are Kramerius, Pelzel, Durich, Negedly, Puchmayer, Jungmann, Hanka, and Dobrowsky. Kramerius was an editor of periodicals and books, as well as an original author. Negedly translated the Iliad and Young's Night Thoughts, and gained some reputation as a lyric poet. Joseph Jungmann translated Chateaubriand's Atala, and Milton's Paradise Lost; he also published a Bohemian Chrestomathy, a history of the literature of his country, and a complete dictionary, besides contributing many articles to periodicals. Wenceslaus Hanka, edited a number of editions of Bohemian classics, and has written several works, besides publishing, with a modern Bohemian translation, and a German rendering by Swoboda, the celebrated MS. of the Königinhof of which he was the discoverer.

The most distinguished of later Bohemian scholars, is Joseph Dobrowsky, who is called the patriarch of modern Slavic literature. He wrote but few of his numerous works in his native tongue, the majority being in German and Latin. In respect to Slavic history and philology he is regarded as the very best authority. J. E. Wocel has published in German a superior work on Bohemian antiquities. A. Marek translated several of the plays of Shakespeare, and Machacek a number of Goethe's works.

Of collections of Bohemian poetry the most valuable is that of Puchmayer. Kliezpera, Stepanek, and Syehra are original dramatic writers of some eminence; Jablowsky, Tupi, and Sabin, have a reputation as poets. Of modern poetical writers in the Bohemian language, the most excellent of whom we have any knowledge is J. Kollar. His first volume of poems was published in 1821, and some years later his *Slavy Dzery*, "Daughter of Glory."* His poems are distinguished for tenderness, and sometimes, when speaking of his country's fate, a poetic melancholy. He resembles Petrarch, in some respects, his Laura being Bohemia. Paul Joseph Schaffarik deserves par-

* *Slava* is the Bohemian word for glory.

ticular mention for his efforts in behalf of Bohemian letters. He has published a number of works exhibiting great research, the most valuable of which is, perhaps, his "History of the Slavic Language and Literature," the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. His "Slavic Antiquities," and collections of Bohemian and Slovakian poems are of considerable merit. Francis Palacky, historiographer of Bohemia, has also done much for his country as an editor and by his "History of Bohemia," and other writings.

The characteristics of Bohemian poetry in general are simplicity, truthfulness and pathos. Their subjects are usually love, nature and domestic scenes. Heroic deeds, or anything relating to war, seem to have comparatively little interest for these peaceful and home-loving people. They have a natural love for music and song, and rural fêtes. Their lyrics which were the natural expression of their social character are genial, sportive, and fanciful, and have many turns of happy imagery. The Bohemian is the most musical of the Slavonic ballads, and this style of poem is, doubtless, the most interesting and characteristic feature of the literature. They were generally intended to be sung. Their subjects are usually pastoral, and their execution is dramatic. There is a striking resemblance between the ballads of the Bohemians and those of the Spaniards of the Moorish period.

Travellers inform us that the old love for ballads, songs and music still exists among the Slavonic peasantry. Celalowsky gives an account of a fête among peasants at which he was present, when a young girl recited an original verse, a second took up the theme, a third added a verse, and so on until quite a lengthy poem was produced. If such a song or ballad was popular it would be repeated and preserved.* The following is a fair specimen of a popular poem of a pathetic character:

* See Celalowsky's *Slowanske narodny Rysne*, a collection of songs from the Bohemian, Wallachian, and Slavonian, with translations from the Russian, Malorussian, Servian, Wendish, and Polish.

"Two lovers seek the wood together
For shelter, when a mighty bough,
Riven by the fierce and stormy weather,
Falls, and they both are corpses now.

" 'Tis well, their fate is bliss, far sweeter
That both should die than one remain
To mourn, a solitary creature,
Through wearying, wasting years of pain.'"

Many of these popular pieces are extremely fanciful, and sometimes exhibit a *naïve* humor. The *Kdyby se tatjnek newadil* is a maiden's ingenious confession to her father:

"But for my father's angry talking,
I'd frankly own that I was walking
With one whom he could not discover—
Frown he or not—it was my lover.

"And if my father would not scold me,
I'd tell him what my lover told me,
And what he gave, a secret this is—
Scold he or not—'twas love's sweet kisses.

"And if my father would not wonder,
I'd tear the secret's veil asunder—
Wonder or not—my lover made me
A sweet and solemn vow to wed me.

"He vowed sincere and eager-hearted
E'en while he kissed me as we parted,
With thee he would not leave me longer,
But claim me when the wheat grew stronger.

"The Nosegay," a tender and graceful poem, was translated

* We give also the original:

"W zeleném hágechu
Milovali se dva,
Spadlo na ně drěwo
Zabílo je oba;
Dobře undělalo
Ze oba zabílo
Nebude zčítati
Geden prodruhého."

by Goethe for his "Kunst und Alterthum." "The Rose," a very ancient piece, is very sweet; "The Lark" is fanciful and ingenious. Many of these poems remind us of the lays of the Troubadours, but they are less ardent and more domestic. There is, indeed, in Bohemian national poetry little that can offend the most fastidious delicacy. These ballad-writers are especially addicted to pathos, as an extract from an ancient piece will testify:

"I sought the dark wood where the oat-grass was growing,
The maidens were there and the oat-grass were mowing;
And I called to those maidens, now say if there be
The maiden I love 'mongst the maidens I see,
And they sighed as they answered, Ah, no! alas, no!
She was laid in the bed of the tomb long ago."*

No translation can do justice to the dainty fancy of many of the Bohemian poems. They have an exquisiteness and delicacy which distinguish them from most of the productions of their age. Of the greater poets we cannot even give specimens, as by so doing we could convey no idea of their excellences by any extracts which our limits would permit.

The native language of the Bohemians has for many years been gradually yielding to the German. It is very improbable that their rich literature will ever be revived. On the one hand the Russian, and on the other the German empire and language are encroaching upon and swallowing up whatever is national in other northern European countries. The Bohemians have ceased to be a distinct nation; but their literature will remain as an interesting monument of the past.

Whether or not this centralization is to be regretted, it is useless for us to inquire. We must accept the fact, and make the best of it. Much of the finest poetry as well as many of the foremost personal virtues have been developed in countries separated from the rest of the world, like Iceland and Bohemia. This exclusion is no longer possible if it is desirable. The improved means of communication and general diffusion of intelligence among all classes of people, are binding the nations of

* See Celalowsky's collection, vol. i. p. 4, and viii. p. 16.

the globe more closely together. We may at least hope that we are preparing for a universal literature, or for such thorough knowledge and community of sentiment as will make thought easily communicable and generally comprehended.

- ART. II.—1. *The Works of DANIEL WEBSTER*, edited by EDWARD EVERETT. 6 vols. Boston. 1851.
2. *Speeches and Forensic Arguments by DANIEL WEBSTER*. 3 vols. Boston. 1850.
3. *The Private Correspondence of DANIEL WEBSTER*, edited by FLETCHER WEBSTER. 2 vols. Boston.
4. *Life of DANIEL WEBSTER*, by GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS, one of his Literary Executors. 2 vols. New York. 1870.
5. *The Private Life of DANIEL WEBSTER*, by CHARLES LANMAN. 1858.

It was a favorite habit among the ancient Romans to meet at stated periods for the purpose of discussing the merits of their departed great men. Their statesmen, generals and authors were thus honored once a year, once in two years, or only once in a decade, according to their acknowledged genius and worth; but in times of unusual public commotion, public grief, or public joy, some were celebrated out of their turn. In none of these cases was it allowed to recall the faults of the deceased; the strict rule for each orator, or writer to observe was, *nihil nisi bonum*. This laudable custom was imitated by the republics of the middle ages. To this day it is maintained to a certain extent in Switzerland, and we think that some good might arise from its adoption in this country to an extent similarly limited. The moral effect would certainly be better than that of praising the living, especially that portion of the living who,

if dead, would never be thought of beyond the circle of their immediate relatives, except, perhaps, as malefactors. Accordingly, we allow an ardent admirer of one of our greatest statesmen and orators to give his recollections and impressions of him as follows :

We regret that Mr. Webster gave himself so much to politics and the law. Though he was not a man of great acquirements as compared with eminent scholars, yet he had ample studies and extensive reading which animated and roused a great understanding and a strong imagination. These were the basis upon which he built his fame, and had he chosen a more literary career, we doubt not he would have disputed the fame of Burke and Bolingbroke in the character of his achievements. He would have approached Burke in his comprehensiveness, and cultivated a more severe style and logic. His ample discourses are like those of Pitt and Fox ; business-like, and fitted to the occasion, but possess none of the philosophical disquisition that characterizes every speech of Edmund Burke.

It has often been said that Webster did not lead, and was not original as a statesman. This is a charge made by those who often disparage him. In his early years we discover him exceedingly modest ; so much so that at fourteen he could be with difficulty persuaded by the faithful Buckminster to make the usual declamation of the school that he attended. He showed more self-possession and resolution at Dartmouth, when he could assert himself against the action of the faculty ; and from the age of twenty he exhibited becoming modesty and firmness, until we find him rising among the great lawyers of New Hampshire, and disputing at the bar the supremacy of Jeremiah Mason. Webster had an established and firm character when he entered Congress in 1813, and from that time onward, we say of him, in his own language, that he was not easily coaxed, and he was still harder to be driven. Indeed, his whole life shows that he was firm in character and of inflexible principle. He changed, as all great statesmen must change upon measures of mere policy, but he seldom or never relinquished a principle in the course of his political career. He began life as a feder-

alist and he adhered to that faith to the end, until the federal party was broken and extinguished. He favored free trade, and when the South and the middle States forced a protective policy upon New England, and that section had thus been driven to relinquish commerce, he and New England accepted the protective policy and sought to maintain it after 1828. Calhoun and the republicans of 1816 changed places with Webster and the East in the course of twelve years after the war.

But Webster was in his general character disposed to stand by his early opinions, and not to compromise great questions. He was too great to insist upon non-essentials. He always opposed an irredeemable paper currency; and he always favored the regulation of the currency by the National Government, and his opposition to a National Bank in 1815 was confined to its allowing issues of irredeemable currency, and to the manner of its organization. He insisted that paper issues should be convertible into coin at the option of the holder, and then he claimed it to be equivalent to money, and not otherwise. He insisted that Congress had no power to give to mere paper the properties of money, and this position he always adhered to. He said Congress had the power to coin money and to issue paper convertible into coin. That was, in his view, the limit under the constitution, and on this ground he opposed the bank of 1815, introduced and advocated by the supporters of the administration of Mr. Madison. In 1833 he opposed the compromise made by Jackson and Clay with South Carolina.

He settled, on the part of the United States, the North-eastern boundary in 1843, and that was a compromise of national claims. He aided the democrats in 1845 in effecting the settlement of the Oregon boundary on the line of 49 deg., instead of 54 deg. 40 sec. Democrats receded, and a war with Great Britain was thus avoided. Webster and Calhoun stood together in effecting these settlements of disputed boundary between British America and the United States. But Webster never compromised internal affairs except in 1850, and he supported the compromise of that year for the reason that he looked upon the sectional contest as a mere quarrel over an

abstract question of no practical importance, in view of the condition of the territory. In this compromise he coöperated with and followed in some measure the lead of Mr. Clay; but in the main Mr. Webster seldom yielded his individuality, even upon party pressure, when he clearly differed with his party—as witness his adherence to the Tyler cabinet. He thought it unwise to break with Mr. Tyler for the mere reason that the President opposed certain Whig measures. He differed with the party, and remained in the cabinet after all his associates had resigned, by so doing settling the boundary question; and it is quite certain that his course, examined by the experience of thirty years, was the wisest and best he could have pursued, not only for the Whigs but for the country. Thus the Whigs under the lead of Clay distracted the party and in no way advanced the interests of the country, except by driving Tyler into the scheme of the annexation of Texas. Webster lost much prestige with his party, and finally inquired where he should go, were all to be driven out of the party because they still adhered to the administration of John Tyler? Thus Webster lost prestige with the party, and Clay took the leadership; yet he thereby still ably served the country. His diplomatic papers thus left us, vindicate his great and unequalled ability of discussion as a publicist. These papers stand above any others we have produced in solidity of argument and style. They stand in relative merit at the head of our diplomacy, and vindicate the principle that the ship that carries our flag is, to all intents and purposes, American soil, and protects all who are beneath the Stars and Stripes. This principle is elaborated in his papers upon maritime rights, the right of search, and upon impressment. He also asserted our nationality in a famous paper to the Austrian Minister while he was secretary of state, ten years later, in the Fillmore cabinet. These were great state papers; and thus we find him a prominent individuality, whether he was in the cabinet or in the senate, or pleading a great cause in the forum. Indeed, he overshadows nearly every statesman of his time and country, excepting Clay and Calhoun.

He uniformly opposed all enlargement of our territory.

He regarded new acquisition as alarming and dangerous to the stability of the Union. He thus opposed the annexation of Texas, and early foretold its dangers. It has taken twenty-five years to develop the consequences he foresaw. He opposed the acquisition of new territory as a result of the Mexican war. The main ground of his opposition to these acquisitions was the dangers that would grow out of slavery extension and sectional contention. It is now certain that he did not exaggerate the peril; for what he foresaw are now historical facts.

It is said that he did not originate much as a statesman. We might mention in answer to this many measures pertaining to the currency and internal administration which he suggested and brought forward. It was his act in 1817 that effected the resumption of specie payments, and this was accepted by the republican administration while he was in opposition. He also brought forward a reform of the federal criminal laws still later. He was quite often made chairman of important committees at a time when he was not identified with the party in power, thus showing that he was trusted as a statesman. He settled the Texas trouble which was so threatening in 1850. But his great achievements more especially relate to the maintenance of the Union and the construction of the Constitution. He never appeared a sectional advocate, but showed all his life the largeness of a great statesman. His logic was not more sure than his grasp was large and comprehensive; and his policy and his principles might have saved us and arrested the late civil war. The nation now sees what he saw twenty years before the event. Thus those who take his measure must see in him an understanding of the first order, endowed with great powers of eloquence and advocacy. He used these to benefit his country. He was eminently practical. He comprehended and administered; and thus Webster's works are an exposition of practical affairs that arose during the age in which he lived.

His political principles were of the federal type, and his constitutional views were in accord with those of Chief Justice Marshall. His works constitute the best legacy bequeathed

our country by any statesman since Madison and Hamilton; and for great eloquence he is hardly approached by any other American statesman. He sought to sustain the federal system, and gave his talents to maintain it unimpaired, sacrificing all considerations to this object. Thus he was a conservative rather than a reformer and revolutionist. He was a constitutionalist in an enlarged sense, and his vision was clear as to the absolute necessity of standing by the "Constitution as it is." Indeed, he was the author of this phrase, which has become a rallying-word since the great debate in which it was first uttered.

Webster, like Turgot, lived before the Revolution. Turgot's reforms would have averted the French Revolution and saved France: and so Webster's policy would have averted civil war in the United States. There is also a parallel in the lives of Burke and Webster, both of whom were ardent whigs and patriots—both of whom were finally denounced in their own age, and called apostates to liberty—and both of whom ruptured party relations to save the constitution of their country. Webster wrote and spoke for the internal peace of his own country, and Burke gave his last efforts to save England from the effects of the French Revolution, and we thus have his "Reflections upon the French Revolution" and his Letters upon the Regicide Peace. One spoke for peace and union and the other wrote for the British constitution to the end of their earthly career. Webster's efforts, though unavailing, were constant. He was called a "Union saver" and an alarmist. But he kept on and deviated not. He hoped to save the country from the madness of the times. No man loved liberty more than he, but he had some judgment, and realized that there was no preservation of our system, except by rigid adherence to law and the Constitution. He was, like Burke, reproached for receiving a pension. Burke received his from the King, while Webster's came from a band of devoted, personal, attached friends. Burke answered the slander in a famous Letter to a noble Lord, while Webster disdained to make even a reply to the accusation. He knew his intentions and feared not the verdict of another age, though he might be damaged in his own. He gave his great talents to the country and worked in

his profession for his daily bread. He died as Pitt died, but found no government to give him for his services £10,000 per annum, and then to pay £200,000 to discharge his debts.

Mr. Webster never suffered himself to depart from the obligations of the constitution; and he sought to make the constitution acceptable to correct ideas of liberty. He did not comprehend how a statesman could deliberately put aside the law that lies at the foundation of every State. He was the exponent of the constitution more than any other statesman since Madison and Hamilton, and his great speeches have moulded the public opinion of the country and instructed the public men of this age. His forensic efforts place him among the first orators and debaters. He met Hayne and vanquished him. Hayne was the first orator of the South and was about ten years younger than Webster. He was the pride of the democrats and of the South, and his likeness hung over the table of General Jackson as his favorite at this time. He had a fine and commanding presence and a very impressive manner as an orator; and his first assault upon New England and her ablest defender was very powerful, and roused Mr. Webster to the best effort of his life. Webster then rose to a grandeur and an impassioned delivery unexpected even by his New England friends. There are passages in Hayne's speech nearly equal in fervor of eloquence to anything Webster said; and yet, as a whole, and as a consummate effort of oratorical genius, it is far beneath Webster's reply. If Hayne was the *Æschynes*, Webster was the *Demosthenes* upon the floor of that senate. This was the most memorable event of Webster's life, and he smote nullification with a blow from which it never fully recovered, although it stood confident under the subsequent lead of Calhoun. But there was no divided opinion about Webster's triumph, and he was thus crowned the first American orator, and South Carolina sent Calhoun to replace Mr. Hayne as her advocate. This debate with Calhoun left the country divided as to the merits of the cause of the South. Thus Calhoun became the Southern, as Webster did the Northern, champion in the cause of nullification in 1832. It is not clear that Calhoun thought himself vanquished in that debate. So

the South followed all of Calhoun's heresies of State rights and ultimate secession.

In these great debates, Webster seldom went far for illustrations; he made few references to English example to illustrate or explain our system. He sought to draw no analysis in his expositions, but was happy where he drew upon his historical recollections. He was little given to speculations upon the nature of the government. He found an existing system, and devoted his powers to sustain it. His life was in a great measure given to consolidate the government. He found certain theories obtained that endangered the system, and he fully understood the consequences arising from these so-called *reserved* rights of the States. This school began with the constitution, and sought to narrow its interpretation and thus enfeeble the powers of the federal government. Samuel Adams, Henry and Clinton, clung to a pure federal union as it existed under the articles of the confederation, and founded by their teachings the school of State Rights subsequently led by Jefferson. We have as the result of divided opinion, a constitution neither national nor federal, but mixed, and thus open to two constructions in many of its powers. When Webster entered upon public life, these political divisions existed in every State, and so the courts were finally called upon to settle conflicting interpretations as to the powers of the general government. Webster soon became the expounder of the federal school founded by Hamilton and Marshall.

Preceminently practical, he saw the necessity of a liberal interpretation of federal power, and knew that a strict construction would render it quite powerless for the purposes of a general government. He saw that this system tended to dismemberment, and he guarded against that danger. During the latter part of his career he warned the country of this peril, and nearly all his measures related to the strengthening of the government. Had he fully directed and led the country there would have been no occasion to maintain the Union by coercion of any part of the people. With this view of the danger to the Union, we should judge his career for the last twenty years at least, and award him his just meed of praise for foreseeing dan-

ger and endeavoring to save the nation. He sought to Americanize this people, and to inculcate the idea that this was not a mere league between sovereign states. He thus endeavored by broad and liberal construction of the general powers vested in the federal government to make us realize that this was one country, though the states retained all powers not surrendered by the constitution and to the general government. Webster believed with the writers of the *Federalist* that there is more danger of a tendency to anarchy among the members than to tyranny in the head in every federal system, and he realized that this weakness inhered in our American system, though many of its features were national in character. This compromise in the constitution does not give us the strength and consolidation of a nation, but subjects us to the dangers of a federation of states. Webster realized that terrible tendency of our system to disintegration, and hence he sought to check sectionalism. And it is a truth that must be heeded, that so far in our history the maxim laid down by the authors of the *Federalist* is sustained; and hence we can safely say that even the temporary centralization of power, can in the nature of things be only temporary, for anarchy among the States is the necessary law arising out of this system composed of separate and sovereign political bodies. This is the law of every federal system, a tendency to rupture rather than to cohesion. In a nation there is a proneness to insurrection and revolution among the people of the same government, but in a federation of separate states there is danger of resistance to the government by the combination of certain states in their sovereign capacity, and even Choate said that when the states should thus resist, the people would not commit treason, for the reason that they were under state control. Philosophy and history equally prove the existence of this principle and tendency in all federal states; and thus we comprehend the necessity to guard against our greatest danger and prevent our falling to pieces. Our danger is internal, not external. Webster's policy led him to seek to consolidate the government within constitutional limits, and he opposed the expansion of the Republic as a necessary weakening of the government itself; and he held it safer

and better to improve and develop the country as it was, than to enter upon the dangerous experiment of further extension. How far he was controlled because of slavery as to this great question of expansion of our territory, it is impossible to determine. There is hardly a doubt that the slave question largely influenced his statesmanship, seeing that new territory had invigorated sectional contention from the beginning of our history.

Mr. Webster had a comprehensive vision. He foretold that West Virginia would secede from Virginia, should Virginia secede from the Union. This he proclaimed in 1851, in his discourse upon the laying of the corner stone to the extension of the Capitol. He declared it would take place within sixty days after Virginia should secede, and it was literally fulfilled. He said in his Plymouth oration in 1820, that the laws of distribution in France would destroy monarchical power in that country, and it is accomplished. But especially clear was his vision as to the causes that threatened the Union, when few statesmen foresaw it, and even the sturdy Benton ridiculed his alarm, until the very last years of his life, when he, too, saw the danger, and endeavored to atone for his former views, and to be just to Webster.

Mr. Webster's works reflect himself rather than the opinions of other men. He shines in no borrowed light. He seldom uses the opinions of others to sustain his own; yet no man more carefully read and studied the works of preceding statesmen, that he might thus have the full benefit of other reflections than his own to guide him to just conclusions. He generally argues from first principles, and takes broad views of every question considered. He entered not largely into details in debate; yet he studied facts and made his deductions always from such examination. So he is thus always original in his views, ever pursuing the Baconian method. His speeches are easily comprehended. His arguments never tire. No man ever failed to understand him, even in his law arguments, as he understood himself and his subject, and possessed the power to convey his thoughts in a style entirely unmistakable. His statement of a cause was almost demonstration itself, and when

thus opened it was more than half argued. In the power of clear statement he has had few equals among advocates. He possessed the rare gift of simplifying the question till it appeared transparent. His style is clear, compact, strong. It is the style of a clear and strong mind. He was never diffuse in argument. His method was that of an orator and jurist. He compressed matter; but there was greater compression of language and method. His statements are often more forcible than even his deductions. He was called the ablest debater in the senate, even when Calhoun and Silas Wright contested his superiority. His occasional discourses were eminently original and were fine models of eloquence. They remind us of Pericles when pronouncing his eulogy upon the great Athenian dead. These addresses took great hold upon the people of the country, and taught them the true style of oratory. If there are eulogies of the dead in our language at all comparable to the great discourses of Bossuet and Massillon, they were pronounced by Webster.

Calhoun compares with Webster in the character of his performances, but falls far short as an orator. Calhoun's speeches read well and they were effective in the delivery, but as oratorical efforts they are not to be compared with Webster's. Yet Calhoun was a great statesman and a powerful debater. He had not a vivid imagination. He had fancy enough to give force to his thoughts, but there were no eloquent passages as in Webster. He appealed to the pride but not to the passions of the country. He had a clear, correct, forcible style. His argument was acute, analytic and original. He condensed his matter, and stripped his discourses of all ornament. He was really a great reasoner, and if he surpassed Webster in any quality, it was in his power of analysis and refinement of logic. Webster yielded to Calhoun as a mere theorist. As we read their works, Calhoun seems to be more of a philosopher in his general character, while Webster possessed a greater logical faculty to detect and expose a fallacy. Calhoun made his own crotchets, while Webster followed objective conclusions. It would be difficult to say that Webster displayed any advantage over Calhoun in mere debate, for each always showed himself a

great master in senatorial discussion. They both were profound thinkers and perhaps differ mainly in this, that Webster is less suggestive than Calhoun, although he may have left a greater impression upon the senate. Calhoun narrowed himself to the slave interest in his later days; but it is quite certain that Webster and Seward would have sustained the South had they been brought forward and supported as Calhoun was by that section, though Webster would doubtless have been more judicious in his advocacy. Calhoun precipitated annexation of Texas to strengthen slavery in 1845, and then, when war resulted from this measure, he resisted the war and the taking of Mexican territory as the result, because he thought it would in the end weaken slavery. He saw then, that it would renew a contest that he wished to allay, and thus for a time preserve the equilibrium of political power between the free and slave states, and save the South from the encroachment of the North. His apprehension was clear and he realized the danger of the times, and brought in Texas to prevent its becoming a free state in the rear of the slave states. However, we now see that out of his scheme of annexation of slave territory, emancipation of the slave has resulted.

But Webster took practical views of the condition of the country. His treatment of a subject was eminently statesman-like. His mind was judicial—rather reflective than creative, both in politics and in law. He was more original in his oratory, and took bolder flights, because his politics were confined within certain exact and defined limits. These limits control his action; and thus he is in no sense going outside of the constitution. He is not like Burke, full of maxims and underlying principles, nor axiomatic like Bacon. He stands within the limits of actual affairs and applied principles; and herein is a man of great understanding and force. Like Calhoun, he keeps close to the subject, and never actually wanders from it. He relies on the strong points of his cause, and here he fears no overthrow. He is, therefore, a great logician, equally excellent as an expounder of the constitution and of the law.

Mr. Clay had all the elements of a great orator, and the training of actual affairs from early manhood. He needed more

thorough scholarship and more complete preparation before entering upon his public career. Had he possessed this extended culture and preparation, such as gives to European statesmen their superiority, he certainly would have been a more enduring character. He acted the foremost part in his day, and possessed all the qualities that win distinction in this country. Hitherto we have had no great scholar that has taken a foremost part in politics, and the most effective and controlling statesmen in this country have been those possessing few of the accomplishments of scholastic training. Mr. Clay had few advantages, and was what is known as a self-made man. Nature endowed him with the elements of real success, and he early won his way to renown. He possessed a winning person and manner. His voice was all that an orator could wish, and entirely under his control. It would often ring out in his great efforts, and electrify and thrill the whole senate. He was very impressive. He was at the same time imperious, though he had the skill to conceal it. Mr. Webster had not so winning a manner; he had not the warmth of Clay; he was not so fluent, and upon many occasions not so effective. He wanted Clay's animation and warmth to set off his great speeches. We saw and heard both: but our estimate is formed from the testimony of their contemporaries, rather than from our own observation of these great men upon altogether ordinary occasions. In Webster's last years, Choate says, there was a great falling off in his delivery, and we saw him after he had reached sixty. So we say that Clay had more grace of manner, and perhaps the more sonorous and musical voice. It certainly was one of the most electric organs of speech given to statesmen; and always speaking to the good sense of the house or the senate, in an able and eloquent manner, he led public affairs in spite of the greatest efforts of Webster and Calhoun. Mr. Clay was a character that won the respect and the love of men more than either of his great rivals, for the reason that he always was believed to be eminently unselfish and patriotic. He was, perhaps, more loved and less feared than the elder Pitt, in the pride of his consummate power. He possessed genius, strong sense, and his unrivalled powers of

speech united to these qualities gave him the actual lead in American statesmanship for many years of his eventful life. He needed a greater basis of underlying principles to make him an enduring character like Hamilton or Webster.

Webster had not so flexible a temperament as Clay, nor so poetic a nature as Kossuth, who had great gifts of speech; yet when excited by the occasion, he was greater than either. Webster looked the orator. His commanding person was very impressive either under excitement or in repose. He looked great, and when he was in England, in 1839, the Londoners said no man was half so wise as Webster looked. His features were regular and fine; his eyes were dark, deep set and lustrous; and his dark raven hair overlaid a massive brow and one of the most intellectual faces. His dress upon great occasions was in character with his noble presence, and he often put on buff and blue, first worn by Charles James Fox, in the house of commons, in honor of the American cause. He moved with dignity and majestic strength, and his mind and eloquence partook of the same grandeur.

The range of Webster's attainments would not rank him with mere scholars, though these attainments were not inconsiderable. His acquirements were of a solid and useful character and he had the skill to use the ablest men around him to instruct and enlighten his own understanding. He had a large and varied knowledge of affairs and the world; and he said he had attained this by the habit early formed of drawing information from every man he met about subjects of which he was best informed. No man of any time knew American history and politics better. He had studied all those causes that had led to the great political changes in our country, and he had especially examined the characters of the men who had taken a leading part. His most extensive attainments were in law and politics. His address delivered before the Historical Society in the City of New York shows that he had large and solid accomplishments in the great productions of England and the ancient classics. He knew Shakespeare, and could call him up in sudden debate with felicity as he did in his Hayne speech with great effect. Choate says :

"Webster did not like Milton, but he certainly borrowed from him also as we see in the finest peroration of modern oratory, which concludes the Hayne speech." Mr. Webster had not a large command of imagery like Burke, or the great poets, hence he sought elsewhere many of his most brilliant figures and tropes of his eloquence. He was not wanting in imagination, however.

Webster brought to every subject a massive and broad intellect. In the powers of a tenacious memory he was highly favored; and in the strength of understanding he had few superiors. He grappled and mastered his subject. His learning went through the alembic of an original mind, and old things were by him made new. It has been said that Webster had not great reason, and never produced a beautiful whole in his speeches. Hence he could not be placed among creative men. Few statesmen add to the stock of original ideas. There is little added to political speculation for centuries, but we are rich in historical examples concerning affairs. Politics being experimental and man living through many ages, we have nothing new in statesmanship or jurisprudence. Here we have applied science, adapting itself to affairs. The art of governing is to govern, and here is compressed the whole of statesmanship. To advance and ameliorate government and society is the part of the reformer. So the law and politics deal with what is old. Webster confined his efforts to actual affairs, for his ability was in that direction, and all his thinking was in that channel. Here he exhibited his talents. He had eloquence and poetical taste, and yet he wrote prose only. His orations are his poems, and great poems some of them are, in all but rhythm. But there is little room for originality in mere speeches. Nearly all thought is repetition in the limits of applied science. We judge men by the effect they produce on their age. Aristotle and the great thinkers of ancient times are estimated by their influence of many centuries and upon different nations. Men of this age cannot be judged except by their impression upon their present time, and statesmen, however great, must pass away unless connected with great events, or when immortalized by their writings like Machiavelli.

We place Potheir, Mansfield and Story among the improvers of the law as they advanced that science. Philosophers seek truth and generate reform. Scientists reveal the hidden law. Painters study coloring and develop the laws of perspective. Poets study the harmony of verse. So we may go through every branch of attained knowledge, and the first are not always the original workers. Hale and Coke hardly surpassed Hardwick and Mansfield as jurists, and so all this theorizing about originality is delusive. This depends upon the capacity of the worker. We cannot set up a standard by which to measure genius in any department of thought, and much less can we find a common standard of excellence by which we can compare great men of divers qualities. Hence we dismiss all speculations that would exclude the foremost lawyers and statesmen from the rank of the great men of the world. Hence, too, we dismiss all speculation that would deprive Burke and Hamilton of the rank of original minds. We compare what is similar, and not what is unlike. So we may assume that Cæsar and Napoleon had original intellects in the same measure as the first philosophers. They differ in kind only. So great statesmen have ever been among the great men of the world and ever must be.

Within the range of politics and of law, Webster yielded to no superiority. He was not so great a genius in conducting affairs as Clay or Hamilton.—he was not, in executive place, equal to Calhoun, Spencer or Marcy; but for the period of thirty years, he held the highest rank at the bar and in the senate. At the bar he was surpassed by Pinkney in the genius of advocacy when he first appeared in the supreme court, and by Hamilton in the genius of statesmanship; but take him all in all, he had no rival in either department. Pinkney had not so strong and clear a grasp in the law, and he had not such eminence in politics, having but four years of congressional life. Webster's fame reaches through a long period, and his shadow stretches out leaving his mark upon his age.

At an early age he held the first rank at the bar in his own State, and took the brief of the first lawyers of New Hampshire to appear with Hopkinson to argue the Dartmouth College case,

before the supreme court, at Washington. He won distinction and was immediately chosen to take part in the discussion of the great Bank case, which was argued by the first lawyers at the American bar. Thus, at thirty-six years of age, he had achieved eminent rank, and already disputed the supremacy of Wirt and Pinkney. Onward till his demise he was retained in nearly all the great cases in that court. He settled at Boston in 1816, and gave himself for seven years to the law, and won the first position at that bar. There he had made his studies of the law, in the office of Mr. Gore, who had but a faint glimpse of Webster's talents; and thus he returned to New Hampshire to practice the law, for about ten years. Boston neglected the student and only perceived his greatness when all the country saw it. He thus wandered and returned to Boston to give it a greater fame. So wherever we see Mr. Webster at the bar, he stands, by the common consent of the profession, in the foremost rank of lawyers. Others may have excelled him in some departments, and in a certain line of advocacy, as well as in extent of learning; but for solidity as a jurist, and in the actual trial of a great cause, he is to be ranked with the foremost lawyers of the American bar,—with Wells, Wirt, Pinkney, Charles O'Connor, and Samuel A. Talcott, who died at the age of forty-six, leaving a great fame. He appeared in the Sailor's Snug Harbor case at Washington in 1830, and showed what manner of man he was to that court. But Webster argued more decisive causes in that court upon the Constitution, than any other jurist save Wirt. He has left us few arguments in full. His argument in the Girard Will case, and the Rhode Island case, are well-preserved and exhibit his manner. He certainly was on the wrong side in the Girard Will case, and his law was not accepted as the opinion of the court as to founding schools upon what he urged as Christian principles. He was emphatically right in the great argument involving the principles of State government in the Dorr rebellion. His argument to convict Knapp for the murder of White, is of the first order of forensic eloquence. Webster has thus left us some model arguments in the law, not embraced in his collected works, among which we recall his last great cause in the Good-

ier case in 1852. He has a double fame as jurist and publicist. At his demise he left no peer as a lawyer, and held the first and foremost place in public life. Mr. Cass said in the senate, upon the death of Webster, that his was the most comprehensive mind that had appeared in the last hundred years.

Thus his renown touches everything valuable in the Republic, and where the constitution rested on him for support, he upheld the very pillars of state. If Hamilton's genius suggested and helped to form the constitution, it yet remained for Webster to sustain it against a most powerful attack. This service rendered to the nation won for him the appellation of being its ablest defender; and it may be questioned whether the founders of states confer greater blessings on mankind than those statesmen who sustain and save them from destruction. Hence, we may place Somers, Fox, Clay, and Webster, among the benefactors of their race. His reputation was as high as Clay's and Calhoun's or Pinkney's at their death; and he left a greater career at both the bar and the senate than any of these distinguished men. Surpassed by each in some quality, he blended in his works a greater mastery of speech than any of his great rivals.

We will not attempt to fill up the record of Webster's greatness by a more particular reference to the events of his public life. They are known to all, and run through forty years of the Republic; and while the Union lasts they stand out in the full-orbed radiance of their own light. They are spread out in the ample page of his eloquence, and though his obelisk may crumble and sink back to earth, these will remain. His deeds will not perish—they will remain to tell us what Webster was and to instruct the patriot scholar in all coming time; for his genius raised his country among the nations—added lustre to the American senate—expounded the constitution—strengthened the federal compact—poured instruction upon the hearts of the people—raised party above the intrigues of the hour—vindicated and reasserted the laws of nations—cherished peace and concord at home, and conciliated the nations abroad, and welcomed the exile, and maintained the power of public opinion to govern the world. He rose above the narrow limits of

State and embraced and comprehended the whole Union. His last wish was to make the Republic enduring. He had faults, but his integrity brightens with lustre as the years recede.

We do not say that his works are so full a commentary upon our government as those of Hamilton and Madison; and yet his speeches are the highest authority we have as expositions of the constitution. Certainly, after the decisions of the supreme courts, every lawyer would allow his authority, and his opinions are always entitled to the greatest consideration upon questions of constitutional law. He did not sink the jurist in the partisan and advocate. Had he delivered himself always freed from partisan feeling, his speeches would be still of higher authority than they are; for he was not exempt from the bias of party influence and success in his career. He had great elevation of character and high views as to the course of a statesman and lawyer; but it is too much to say that he was uninfluenced by the times and circumstances in which he was placed.

But if we judge him by the results he accomplished, it is necessary also to keep in view that, during the greater part of his career from 1813 to 1852, he acted with the minority party, and was nearly always in opposition to the administration. He acted with the Federalists until he supported the administration of Mr. Adams, in 1825. His party lost power in 1828 and did not regain it until 1841, and again in 1848, under Taylor and Fillmore. He thus had little opportunity to bring forward leading measures or of helping to establish a policy of administration except as a minority partisan. Clay came forward as a trusted republican, as did Calhoun, Jackson and Silas Wright; and their party controlled the government for twenty-eight years after the accession of Jefferson, and so these men had an opportunity to influence the legislation of the country to a more considerable degree than one in opposition during all that period. During the first half of this century, the republican party, organized and led by Jefferson, and the democratic party, formed under Jackson in 1828, ruled this country, excepting the short space of five or six years under the Whigs. This is a sufficient explanation why Webster bore no greater part in the controlling policy that ruled the

country during his time ; for every statesman knows that however eminent the talent acting in opposition, it is mainly effective in keeping the majority in check and in preventing the adoption of unconstitutional measures. Thus we see how potent were the democrats until the great rebellion in 1860. What measure has the democrats carried into effect for the last ten years, and yet they have had able men in Congress during that time? This will solve the position occupied by Webster during his career ; and what statesman has accomplished more than he while he acted with those in power? He was in congress during a short time under whig rule in 1849, and became secretary of state in the cabinet of Mr. Fillmore. He having said that Taylor's nomination was not fit to have been made, was hardly in accord with that administration. So it would be quite unjust to say that he did not originate much ; for it was his province to resist the dangerous and inexpedient measures of those in actual power, as did Charles James Fox in a former age, and thus keep the country in as true a course as possible. Thus Fox and Burke resisted the policy of North in 1776, and the whigs under Fox the measures of the younger Pitt. Thus we explain all that need be said in answer to the question whether Webster was a leading and original statesman. He certainly was always the leading man of the opposition in conjunction with Clay, and there were many whigs in his time that would rank among able statesmen and accomplished orators. Had Webster been a man of less elevation he could have joined the Jackson administration in 1833, and thus placed himself in power ; but there were currency measures that he did not approve, and hence he remained with the whigs.

So in judging of his career as a statesman, we need not so much consider what he produced as what evils he saved the country. Until minorities have a greater voice in administering the government, they will be confined, as they ever have been, to negative action and obstruction in all constitutional and free states ; and such men as Fox and Webster have performed their share in actual affairs, in sustaining constitutional liberty, by leading minorities.

This position of the whigs as a minority party Webster ac-

cepted, and it solves the question why his views as to a sound currency and the annexation of Texas and Mexican territory never prevailed as the ruling policy of the country. The democratic party was aggressive, and involved us in the Mexican war by taking Texas. This precipitated the slavery agitation, which was never after wholly allayed. Mexican territory was taken as an indemnity for the war; and this proved a Pandora's box, and civil strife and sectional agitation soon followed. The South demanded slave extension over territory thus obtained by the common blood of all, and the North demanded that there should be a further prohibition enacted by congress to secure the freedom of the territories, where all was free by Mexican emancipation and the law. The compromise obtained under the lead of Clay and the Fillmore administration in 1850, secured tranquillity and the freedom of the territories, while the great men who carried through that settlement were denounced by the North as apostates to liberty. Mr. Webster and Mr. Fillmore united with Douglas and Cass, and that compromise became the law of the land. The democratic party in 1854 reopened that agitation; but Webster was then no more, and the policy of 1850 was disturbed by a new principle of settlement, leaving this and all domestic questions to the people of the territory. Mr. Webster's policy against annexation could have saved the country from the disasters that came upon us after that event. But after annexation of Mexican territory there could be no peace so long as the sections pursued their own sectional interests, and utterly disregarding all national harmony. Mr. Webster saw there remained only one course to be safely pursued, and hence he sought adjustment of all conflicting disputes. Calhoun and Webster, as well as Clay, agreed as to the necessity of a settlement of our difficulty, and only differed as to the mode by which it could be accomplished.

Thus the events of many years show how wise was the policy of those statesmen who sought the preservation of the Union without war and without needless strife, and thanks to the valor of a great people, the United States is a power among nations in spite of the shortcomings and folly of our internal polity in the past.

Mr. Curtis, in his life of Webster thinks there is some parallel between the Hayne and the Crown speech of Demosthenes. He says one is the American, while the other remains the masterpiece of Grecian debate. We agree in placing this reply to Hayne as the masterpiece of American eloquence; and it will make Webster known wherever our language is spoken in after times. It has been said that Webster has equalled the first orators of any age; but we think he has sufficient fame without claiming so much for him. Indeed, while he equalled, in many respects, the great masters of eloquence, such as Chatham, Mirabeau and Burke, and surpassed them in logical force; yet we realize that these great orators were, in other respects, his superiors. Thus while we place Webster at the very head of American orators, and name the reply to Hayne and Calhoun upon nullification as the masterpiece of American eloquence, and while we hold that he must long hold the foremost rank as a great debater, we cannot assert that he has left one speech that the world will pronounce comparable to the Crown speech of the great Athenian, or that shows so great a statesmanship as Burke's speech on conciliation with America.

Whether he rose far above the time in which he lived or was much in advance of his age, or whether he remained among the common level of politics, are questions that will be answered according to the stand-point of those who consider him. He certainly seemed as free from partisan trammels and as elevated in his career as any man of his age. He was surely a large-minded statesman; and had no superior for love of country and the welfare of his kind. His reforms took the constitution as the basis of his advancement of the nation and of society, hence he was denounced by revolutionists.

- ART. III.—1. *La Bretagne, ancienne et moderne.* Par PITRE-CHEVALIER. Paris.
2. *Histoire de France*, par M. MICHELET. Paris. 1855.
3. *Brittany and its Byways, some account of its inhabitants and its antiquities during a residence in that country* By Mrs. BURY PALLISER. London. 1869.
4. *A critical History of the establishment of the Bretons among the Gauls, and of their dependence upon the kings of France and dukes of Normandy.* By the Abbé de VERTOT. Translated from the French. London. 1722.

BRITTANY is one of the extremities of the Old World, and partakes of the characteristics which belong to such portions of that division of the earth's surface. In common with Ireland, Cornwall, Scotland, Norway, and the northern or Iberian portion of the Spanish peninsula, it has its own peculiar antiquities and legends, differing in their style and nature from those of the rest of Europe. The history of Brittany is that of a country of quartz and granite, covered with rough herbage, of sombre forests and immemorial oaks, of bleak mountain ridges, wild ravines, and impetuous torrents, alternating with balmy valleys, lakes reposing in the bosom of syivan retreats, and brooks which gurgle amid flowers.* The character of its inhabitants is as peculiar as its soil. Its leading feature is an intense love of home and country. "The Breton not only loves the village where he was born, but he loves the field of his fathers, the hearth and clock of his home, even the bed on which he was born, and on which he hopes to close his eyes. The conscript and sailor are often known to die of grief when away from their native land. Brittany possesses for its children an inconceivable attraction, and there is no country in the world where man is more attached to his native soil."†

The Bretons are full of religious sentiment and of resignation to the will of the Almighty, of loyalty to their word and to each

* *La Bretagne, ancienne et moderne*, p. 3.

† *Brittany and its Byways*, p. 99.

other, and of hospitality. The loyalty and good faith of the Bretons is proverbial. They have a proverb "E pess hænt lealdet," (in the ancient Breton language) now rendered into French, "En tout chemin, loyauté," which expresses this feeling. In the year 1548 the citizens of Martaix welcomed Mary Stuart, then only five years old, on her landing in France, but while passing through one of the gates of the city, the draw-bridge, overloaded with spectators, gave way, and several persons were thrown into the water. Mary's Scottish attendants cried out "Treason!" but the Seigneur de Rohan, who was on horseback by the side of the royal litter, indignantly exclaimed, "Jamais Breton ne fit trahison!"*

The Bretons are brave soldiers and good sailors, but their disposition is hasty and violent, and even ferocious when angered. Among their vices are avarice and drunkenness, and recent travelers accuse them of despising women, † a very serious charge, seeing that Brittany has produced some of the noblest heroines recorded in history. The names of the Lady Constance, the mother of the unfortunate Prince Arthur; of the Countess Jeanne de Montfort; of the Lady Typhaine, the wife of Du Guesclin; of the Duchess Anne, and of the Lady of Garaye, ought to suffice to secure them reverence. And while we are mentioning illustrious Breton ladies, we may as well enumerate some of the illustrious men to whom Brittany has given birth; the foremost are the famous warriors and constables Du Guesclin and Oliver Clisson; the naval hero, Duguay Trouin; the Vendean leader, Henri Laroche-Jacquelin; the orator Lamennais; the learned philosopher De Chateaubriand; the knightly family of Beaumanoir; the counts Arthur de Richemont and John de Montfort; the kings Conan Meriadee and Gradlon. St. Corentin; Le Sage, the author of "Gii Blas;" the poet Brizeux; Pierre Abélard; Descartes, the mathematician; General Moreau; Latour d'Auvergne; Emile Souvestre, the elegant novelist; Michel Colomb, the sculptor; and General Trochu, the defender of Paris; also the sceptics Duclos, Maupertuis and Lametrie.

* *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, "Mary Stuart," by Agnes Strickland. Vol. 3, p. 26, citing Albertus Magnus.

† Mrs. Palliser. *Brittany*, p. 99.

The foregoing furnishes an answer to the Breton poet's question, contained in these verses :

“ O landes ! O forêts ! pierres sombres et hautes,
Bois qui couvrez nos champs, mers qui battez nos côtes,
Villages où les morts errent avec les vents,
Bretagne, d'où vient l'amor de tes enfants ? ”*

As is the case with all other ancient nations, the early records of Brittany are very scant, and are found in the form of legends and traditions, embellished, more or less, with all the marvels to which patriotism and the imagination of the people could give birth. But this is not a sufficient reason for despising and rejecting these ancient histories. Nothing is more unphilosophical or unjust than to disdain the early chronicles of a nation because the people had the good faith to write according to the ideas of their times. We are entirely of Guizot's opinion on this subject. “ Quereller de la sorte ces vieux maîtres,” says he,† “ est d'une ridicule outrecuidance. Ils ont fait ce qu'ils pouvaient faire ; ils nous ont transmis ce qu'on disait, ce qu'on croyait autour d'eux ; voudrait-il mieux qu'ils n'eussent pas écrit, qu'aucun souvenir des temps fabuleux ne fut pas venu jusqu'à nous, et que l'histoire n'eût commencé qu'au moment où la société aurait possédé des érudits capables de soumettre cette histoire à leur critique pour en assurer l'exactitude ? A mon avis, il y a souvent plus de vérités historiques à recueillir dans ces récits où se déploie l'imagination populaire que dans beaucoup de savantes dissertations.”

The Abbé Vertot, however, is of a different opinion ; he professes the utmost contempt for the ancient Breton legends, which, he says, are fabrications of later ages contrived for the purpose of proving that Brittany was more ancient than France, and independent of her. “ To the intent to establish this distinction and to procure to the Bretons an original superiority over the French, among the Gauls, the greatest part of the historians of this nation, if they may be said to deserve that title, have not been ashamed to have recourse to fable and to take

* Brizeux. *Les Bretons.*

† Collection *Memoires. Preface.*

their principal proofs from those very romances wherein are contained the story of the wizard Merlin, King Arthur, and the Knights of the Round Table. In the fabulous history of the province may be seen a succession of eleven kings of Bretagne, who all owe their existence and their crown to these old romancers.*

Modern French historians, like Michelet, Thierry, and Mignet, have adopted a more judicious course than the Abbé Vertot did. Without rejecting the traditional lore of the Bretons they have sifted it philosophically and endeavored to separate from the superincumbent embellishment whatever of history there may be in it. They have extended their researches to the remotest possible period, and have, on what may, on the whole, be considered fair deductions, traced out the origin of the inhabitants of Brittany, or Armorica, as the Romans called it. Armorica was the name given to the peninsula occupied in Caesar's time by the tribes called Osismii, Curiosolites, Veneti, Rhedones, Diablintes and Nannetes. It is now divided into the departments of Finistère, Côtes-du-Nord, Morbihan, Ile-et-Vilaine, and the Loire Inférieure. Perhaps no better illustration of the immense progress made in historical research within the last century and a half could be found than that afforded by contrasting the Abbé Vertot's work with Thierry's *Histoire des Gaulois*. Yet no new materials were possessed by the latter; they both had the same sources to draw their information from; the difference between them arises from the use they made of them. The result is what might have been expected; they differ *ab initio*. The superficial Abbé asserts that the Bretons originally came from Britain. Thierry, with far better reason, says that the ancient British came from Brittany.

"The history of the Island of Bretagne (Britain)," says Vertot,† "the *original country of the French Bretons*, is scarcely at all known beyond the time that Julius Cæsar set up the Roman eagles upon the coasts of that island." "We have nothing left us more ancient and more to be relied on as to the particular history of that nation than the fragment of

* Vertot. *Critical history*. Vol. 1, p. 3.

† Ibid., p. 4.

Gildas Sapiens, who wrote in the sixth century, whose work is rather a pious declamation against the vices then reigning in the isle of Bretagne than a history. The Venerable Bede, an historian of the eighth century, is the next English author after Gildas."....."But neither Gildas nor the Venerable Bede has given us any hint of the time of the settlement of the insular Bretons in that part of the Gauls called Armorica." The Abbé then cites the fabulous narrative of Geoffrey of Monmouth as a proof that the Bretons can give no better account of their origin than appears in that book.

Now let us turn to the pains-taking Thierry, who, after exhausting all the Greek and Roman historians and geographers, as well as the ethnologists of modern times, comes to the conclusion that the Armoricians or Bretons were of Cimmerian origin, and belonged to the second great branch of the Gauls.* The first branch of this great human family assumed or were given the name of "Gauls." They were of Asiatic origin, and several centuries before the Christian era they overran Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia. They appeared under the name of Galatians: but the Greeks called them Kelts or Celts.† From Asia Minor they spread over Europe, carrying devastation with them through Greece, Italy, and France. But in time they were driven out of Italy and Greece, and were exterminated by myriads by the Romans. They appear to have settled permanently in France after expelling the ancient Iberian population of that country, and it was this branch of the family which Cæsar describes in his Commentaries as "Ii qui linguâ suâ Celtae, nostrâ Galli appellantur."‡

The second branch of the Gauls was composed of Belgians and Armoricians. According to the traditions of the Druids they anciently occupied the country beyond the Rhine and bordering on the North Sea. In Cæsar's time they had but recently appeared in Gaul. He constantly calls them "Volgæ."

* *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. i., p. lxiv.

† Ταῦτα μὲν ὑπερ νερωωντιῶν τὴν Ναρβωνιτῆν ἐποικρατεῖαν λεγόμεν οὗτ' οὐκ πρότερον Κέλταις ὠνομαζόν. Strabo, iv. 189. See also Eustathius ad Dionys., 288; and Diod. Sic., v., p. 308.

‡ *De Bello Gallico*, l. i., c. i.

Strabo styles them *Ὀβολῆαι*. Ausonius of Narbonne says* that *Bolgae* was the primitive name of the Tectosages, so often mentioned by the Roman historians. They arrived in the north of Europe by a route different from that taken by the Celts, Ammianus Marcellianus says they came "ab insulis extinis et tractibus transrhenanis."† Strabo assigns the course of the Marne and then that of the Seine to the Ocean as the frontier of the Belgians.‡ Caesar prolongs their territory to the South of the Seine as far as the mouth of the Loire. He calls the people Armoricans and says that the name signifies "maritime; § which is a translation, as it were, of the name Strabo gives them, *Βεργαί παρωκεανίται*.

The evidence derived from the classical writers in favor of the descent of the Bretons from the Cimbrian branch of the Gauls is sufficient to prove the disingenuous nature of the Abbé Vertot's arguments. It is quite true, as he says, that Bede has not given us any hint of the time of the settlement of the insular Bretons (or Britons) in Armorica; but it is also true that Bede mentions the popular belief, prevalent in England in his time, that that island had been peopled from Armorica; at all events the southern and western portions had. || And this belief was so general on both sides of the English channel, in the fifth century of our era, that when, at that epoch, the Britons of the South, fleeing from their country, which was then invaded by the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, went in great numbers to seek an asylum abroad, they directed their course by preference to Armorica, whose inhabitants received them as brethren. ¶ In short, there can be but little doubt that the Armorican emigration to Britain took place at a period so remote that the Bretons might well pretend to have been the first possessors of the island.**

* v. 9.

† xv. 9.

‡ l. iv., p. 194-6.

§ *De Bello Gallico*, l. v., c. 53; l. vii., c. 75.|| "Britannia, Oceani insula, cui quondam nomen Albion fuit. In primis hæc insula Britones solum, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armoricano (ut fertur) Britanniam advecti, australes sibi partes vindicarunt. *Hist. Eccles.*, l. i.¶ Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. i., p. lxxxix.

** Ibid., p. lxxiii.

Another source of evidence in favor of the early population of Armorica by the Cymry or Cimbrians, is the prevalence of Druidism, that great Gaulish theocracy, among its inhabitants. Of this superstition Armorica and Britain were the double centre. According to the traditions of the Cymry, it was their first tribes, led by Hu Gadarn (or Hu the Powerful), their Priest-God, which, crossing the foggy sea (the German Ocean) carried the Druidical religion to the Gauls, who were then sunk in the darkness of polytheism. Thierry, struck with the connection between this religion and the sacred observances of the East, supposes that the Cymry had acquired the germs of it during their long abode in Asia.* The Welsh bard, Taliesin, who lived in the sixth century of the Christian era, alludes to this tradition of Hu Gadarn thus: "It is said that an innumerable and savage race first possessed thee, oh Britain, queen of the isles! It came from Asia, from the country of the Gafis; but what land had been its cradle? No one knows. They were an ingenious and skilful people, a nation of hardy pirates. When they appeared clad in their long mantles, no one dared to pretend to be their equal. Their genius has become celebrated; they have filled Europe with fear."†

The Druids constituted the superior and learned class of the people. They were the arbiters of peace and war among the nations; among the Armoricans they were, by virtue of their sacred office, senators, and had exclusive control of theology, legislation and education. They seem to have taught that there was but one God, but that this god assumed as many forms as he had attributes; as, for instance, those of water, wind, and the sun or moon. The number three was sacred; we find it in all the bardic traditions, especially in the curious list of the Triads of Britain given by Michelet.‡ These Triads are collections by threes of the memorable events, reminiscences, and bits of wisdom, respecting the men and the famous deeds of Britain, and concerning the circumstances and misfortunes which had desolated the nation of the Cimbrians at various epochs.

* Ibid., p. cxliii.

† Appeas. of Ludd.

‡ *Histoire de France*: Appendix, vol. i., p. 461.

There are twenty-seven of these Triads, and they were taught orally by the Druids. The first Triad relates to the three names given to the island of Britain, one of which was Prydain, derived from the chief of that name, the son of Aedd the Great, who first formed the people into society. The third Triad concerns the three pillars of Britain. The first of these was "*Hu Gadarn, who first led the nation into the island*, and they came from the country of summer called Defrobani (Constantinople?), and they came by the foggy sea (the North) into Britain and Armorica, where they settled." The fourth of the Triads relates to the three great social divisions of Britain, the Cambrians, the Loergrians and the Brython; and here it is said that the second of these tribes *came from Gascony*, and that the Brython or Britons were descended from the primitive tribe of the Cambrians (Cymry). The tenth of the Triads mentions the three terrible events which happened in Britain; the first of these was an inundation caused by the bursting of a lake, whereby all the people were drowned, except Dwyvan and Dwyvach, who escaped in an open vessel, and *by them the island of Prydain was repopled*. The eleventh Triad treats of the three great expeditions undertaken by the Britons; the third of these expeditions was led by Ellen, and Cynan his brother, lord of Meiriadog, in Armorica, where they obtained lands, power and sovereignty from the Emperor Maximus to sustain them against the Romans; and neither of them returned, but they remained there and in Ystre Gyvaelwg, where they formed a community. The eighteenth Triad mentions the three ruling energies in Britain; these were Hu the Powerful, who led the Cambrian (Cimbrian, Cymry) nation from the country of the summer, named Defrobani, into Britain; Prydain, the son of Aedd the Great, who organized the nation, and *established a jury* in the island of Britain; and Rhitta Gawr, who caused a robe to be made for himself out of the beards of the kings whom he had taken prisoners. The twenty-first Triad relates to the three first extraordinary works of Britain, viz: The ship of Nwydd-Nav-Neivion, which brought into the island the male and female of all living creatures, when "the lake of inundation" poured forth; the large horned oxen of Hu the Pow-

erful, which drew the crocodile of the lake on to the ground, so that the lake no longer overflowed; and the stone of Gwyddon-Gauhebon, on which are engraved all the arts and sciences in the world.

We now come back to the remarkable traditions of Hu Gadarn, which lie at the root of all Breton legendary lore, and in many points strongly resemble the history of Noah, so much so, indeed, that we are tempted to suspect that they are in substance derived from it. One of the most curious of these fables is the following; it deserves special consideration, as it is manifestly a jumble of the histories of Noah, Moses, the Corybantes, the Hermes-Hercules of the Egyptians, and the Cabiri of Samothrace. It runs thus:—

Hu had fixed his dwelling near an immense lake, whose elevated waters incessantly threatened the earth. Strong dykes protected the latter from inundation. But a beaver who was laboring at piercing those dykes, succeeded in doing so one day, and then the waters escaped and covered the face of the globe. All the human race perished, except one man and one woman, who saved themselves in a ship without sails, which the foresight of Hu had prepared a long time beforehand. This ship carried in it a male and female specimen of each kind of animal. But the earth was kept under water by the beaver, and it became necessary to rescue it. Hu possessed superb oxen; he ordered them to harness themselves to the earth and drag it out of the abyss. The oxen obeyed their master, and brought the globe to the surface of the lake. In the efforts which they made to resist those of the beaver, one of Hu's oxen strained himself so that his eyes started out of their sockets, and he died immediately. Distracted by the loss of his companion, the other ox refused all nourishment and expired shortly afterwards. After having thus saved animated matter Hu founded the institutions of men. He formed the primitive race into families. He taught them justice, the love of peace, and the art of agriculture. The chariot of Hu is eternally surrounded by the rays of the sun; the rainbow serves him as a girdle; his oxen are led in heaven by five genii, covered with a harness of gold and flames, and held together by a chain of gold.

Hu is moreover the god of war, the conqueror of the giants, the protector in the darkness, the defender of the sanctuary. He lends his strength to heroes; he inspires patience in suffering and constancy in toil. Hu is, lastly, the father of the Druids and the king of bards, raised to the presidency in the *teroum-leach* (commonly written *cromlech*) or circle of stones which represents the world. It is he who moderates and regulates the waters, and blessings follow the cow which accompanies him unceasingly. Hu was not alone in the world; a woman, an enchantress, named Koridwen, embellished the days which he passed in his domain of Penleun (the extremity of the lake). Koridwen brought forth three children: viz. Mor-Vran, his eldest son (the raven of the sea, the chief of navigators); Creiz-Viou, his daughter, the most beautiful in the world (the middle of the egg, the symbol of life); and a second son, Avank-du (the black beaver, the ignorant one), the most hideous of beings. Koridwen wished to impart some knowledge to the latter, so that he might not seem too unworthy of his rank. She therefore resolved to prepare for him, according to the mysterious rights, the water of divination. For this purpose she went to the Island of Repose, where was the city of the Just One, and addressing herself to the dwarf Gwion (the mind), the guardian of the temple, charged him to watch over the mystic preparation. A blind man, named Morda, was directed to feed the fire under the vase, and to keep the liquor boiling without intermission for a year and a day. During this operation Koridwen studied the course of the planets, and culled in the woods those plants of which she alone knew the virtues.

The year was about to expire when a too violent ebullition spilt three drops of the miraculous water, which fell upon Gwion's finger. The burning heat of it made him briskly put his finger to his mouth. Hardly had these three precious drops touched his lips than the future was disclosed to him. He saw at once that he must guard himself from the rage and pursuit of Koridwen, whose knowledge divined all. His fear made him take to flight. With the exception of the three drops which fell on Gwion's finger, all the water in the vase was

poisoned; it upset itself and broke. Now, when the term had expired, Koridwen entered at the very instant. Her fury was without bounds when she saw her year's labor lost. She threw the blame on the blind Morda, but she soon found that the dwarf Gwion was the guilty one, and she went in pursuit of him. Thanks, however, to the marvelous drops, Gwion in his mind perceived Koridwen's intentions, and in order to flee with greater swiftness he changed himself into a hare; but Koridwen changed herself into a greyhound and chased him to the bank of a river. Then Gwion jumped into the current and took the form of a fish, but his enemy, already transformed into an otter, followed him so closely that he escaped only by making himself a bird. Thereupon Koridwen put on the wings of a hawk, hovered over her prey, and precipitating herself upon him like a dart, was about to seize him, when Gwion, trembling with terror, fortunately perceived a heap of wheat upon a threshing-floor, threw himself into it and became a grain of corn. But Koridwen appeared in the shape of a hen, jumped upon the heap, and worked so well with beak and claws that she discovered Gwion and swallowed him.

Koridwen was avenged, but she was well punished, for she had no sooner swallowed her enemy than she became *enceinte*. Her pregnancy lasted nine months, and Hu condemned to death, beforehand, the child she bore: but she found it so loveable that she could not consent to its death. Hu therefore advised her to put it in a cradle covered with leather and cast it into the sea, and Koridwen followed this advice. At this time the fishpond of King Gouydno, situated near the shore, not far from his palace, gave him on a certain day of the year a quantity of fish, the value of which was immense. Gouydno had but one son, and he was named Elfin. This son was the most unfortunate of all beings; nothing succeeded with him, so that his father thought he had been born in a fatal hour. The councillors of Gouydno advised him to employ his son in draining the fishpond, as perhaps he might find some mitigation of his lot thereby. When the day came Elfin emptied the fish-pond, but found nothing therein, not even a fish. But, as he was returning sadly, he perceived a cradle covered with

leather aground against the sluice. "Misfortune follows you everywhere," said one of the sluice keepers, "you have destroyed the virtue of the fish-pond." "Wait a minute" replied Elfin, "perhaps this cradle is worth all the fish in the sea." They then removed the leather covering, and the sluice-keeper perceiving the head of a child, exclaimed *Taliesin*! (radiant forehead). "Taliesin shall be his name," said the prince, taking the child in his arms, and forgetting all his misfortunes, he carried him away on his horse. Immediately, to the great surprise of Elfin, the child began to sing a hymn to his liberator, and prophesied his own future renown. Elfin presented him to his father. Gouydno asked if it was a material being or a spirit. The infant replied by a mystic song in which he declared he had lived through all ages, and he identified himself with the sun, whose name he bore. Gouydno, amazed, asked him for another song, and the child replied: "I have been born three times. I know how one must study to attain knowledge. Let men search out all the sciences whose source is in my bosom, for I know all that is to be."*

The oriental origin of this legend is evident. It has been borrowed from various sources, which, if carefully traced, would probably throw light on the primitive history of the Celts or Gauls, the ancestors of the Bretons. At the outset Hu is identical with Noah, but we are speedily transferred from the ark and the deluge to the Hindoo mythology, wherein the world undergoes a transformation by means of the mythical oxen; and again, Hu appears with the glory of Brahma, and instructs mankind. It may be well to notice in this connection, the similarity between the names Defrobani and Taprobane, the Greek name for Ceylon. Michelet, in his annotations on the Triads,† suggests that Defrobani means Constantinople: a singular mistake, since the Gauls had overrun Europe ages before Constantinople was founded; and if he means the ancient Byzantium, founded by the Megarians, B.C. 658, he assigns no reason for such a curious suggestion; there is nothing in the history of the Gauls which connects them particularly with that obscure

* *La Bretagne Ancienne*, pp. 29-32.† *Histoire de France*. Vol. 1, p. 462.

colony. We are inclined to place Defrobani in the far East, say Ceylon, whence many of the ideas in the legend of Hu Gadarn are evidently derived, as we have partly shown, and will show further. There is the sacred cow which follows Hu eternally; this is a Brahminical idea. Hu is another form of the Greek Apollo, he has his chariot and is ever surrounded by the bright rays of the sun; he is the conqueror of the giants, he affords help and wards off evil; he is the god of prophecy, song and music; hence he is the father of the Druids (priests and prophets) and of the bards. His symbol is a golden ball, and the circle or ring is the emblem of eternity; hence the cromlech or circle of stones is the sanctuary wherein he presides.

Koridwen's exploits are an extraordinary *melange*. They remind one alternately of the allegory of Cupid and Psyche, the sorceries of Medea, the combat of the Lady of Beauty with the Genie, of the story of the Envious Man in the "Arabian Nights Entertainments," the amours of Jupiter and Danaë, the hiding of Moses by his mother in the bulrushes by the river, the finding of Perseus in the drifting chest by the fisherman Dictys, and the appearance of the wondrous Etrurian child, Tages, who prophesied and uttered all kinds of wise sayings. Tages and Taliesin closely resemble each other, but the Etrurians came from Syria into Italy, and brought with them much of the wisdom of the Egyptians;* hence the fact that both the wondrous children are really of oriental origin. In the allegory of Psyche, the heroine is the youngest of three children, as Avank-du is. Psyche is conveyed to a secret retreat, where she is tended by the blind Cupid, as the mysterious water of divination is by the blind Morda. Then the three boiling drops awoke Gwion to knowledge as the burning drop of oil reveals her lover to Psyche. Then comes the pursuit of Gwion by Koridwen, which may have been the prototype of the story in the Arabian Nights, so similar is it in character. The Lady of Beauty having invoked the genie, the latter appears as a terrible lion and rushes at her, but she

* See Mrs. Gray's history of *Etruria*, *passim*.

changes herself into a sharp sword and cuts the lion in two. The lion then vanishes and a scorpion appears in his place. The princess becomes a serpent and fights the scorpion, who then takes the shape of an eagle and flies away. The serpent assumes the same shape and follows him. Soon afterwards the ground opens and there comes forth a cat, mewing fearfully; a black wolf follows her close and gives her no time for rest. The cat changes herself into a worm, which hides in a pomegranate; but the pomegranate immediately swells up as large as a gourd, and breaks into pieces. The wolf becomes a cock and picks up all the seeds of the pomegranate, except one which lies on the brink of the canal, and this rolls into the river, just as the cock goes to pick it up, and becomes a little fish. The cock jumps into the river, and is turned into a pike, which pursues the small fish; and so on until both princess and genie are destroyed. In our legend Gwion is swallowed and Koridwen punished. We need not follow out the analogies further, for they are patent, and all the incidents are derived from oriental fact or fiction. We do not assert that the Celtic Gauls originated either, but as they were for ages in contact and communication with the most imaginative of the Eastern nations, the Hindoos, Persians, Arabs, and Hellenes, it is easy to account for their having adopted their myths and fables; and the fact of their having jumbled them up in so confused a manner is an additional proof, if any were needed, that the legend of Hu and Koridwen did not originate in Brittany, but was brought from Asia by the ancestors of the Bretons. This mythic couple became the progenitors of the dwarfs and fairies of Brittany.

In remembrance of the lake of Hu, all lakes and fountains were sacred among the ancient Bretons, and in honor of them there was annually held a festival which lasted three days. On these occasions, woolen vestments, fruits, and animals were offered on the holy stone.* These holy stones are immense boulders, found on wide plains where there is no vestige of any quarries whence they could have been dug. They evidently

**La Bretagne ancienne*, p. 35.

belong to the drift period of geology, but the ignorant and superstitious people, unable otherwise to account for their presence, supposed them to have been placed where they are by supernatural agency; hence the veneration in which they are held. They are to be found in most parts of Brittany, but especially in the district of Morbihan. There are also several rocking stones; the most celebrated of which is that at Trégunc. This stone is twelve feet long and nine feet thick, and it stands about fifteen feet from the ground. It is the second largest in Brittany, that at Plaumanach being the first, and that at Huelgoet the third. The council of Nantes, in the seventh century, ordered the bishops to have these rocking-stones destroyed, but this order was not carried into effect. The reasons why that at Trégunc is the most famous are that the upper block can be easily set in motion by the hand, it being poised on a little projection, like an inverted cone, upon another rock lying half buried in the ground, and it was formerly consulted by suspicious husbands to test the fidelity of their wives. The country people call it "*La pierre aux maris trompés*," and believe that a partner of a faithless wife is incapable of setting it in motion.*

The religious temples of the Druids, as is generally supposed, consisted of circles of stones, called by the Celts "*Cromlechs*." A great stone called the *menhir* (or long stone), or *peulven* (a raised stone) protected the approach to the cromlech. *Dolmens* or tables of stone, served as altars, and were raised at the side. Further on extended the *carvellon*, or cemetery stones; these were a collection of *menhirs* either ranged in line or dispersed at will. Other *menhirs* were destined to preserve the memory of illustrious men or of great events.† In these characteristics the Breton cromlechs seem to have differed from those of Britain, which are always placed in regular lines or circles, and have but one altar stone. Some learned men have denied that these circles of stones, popularly called Druidical, were peculiar to the religious rites of the Celts,‡ and in sup-

* *Brittany and its Byways*, p. 149.

† *La Bretagne ancienne*, p. 35.

‡ Ritson, *History of the Celts*, p. 73.

port of their opinion they have cited the discovery of similar monuments in the East, especially in India; but this fact goes no further than to prove that the tribes who erected them had similar habits with those which inhabited Europe; and if it be admitted that they were the same race and migrated from Asia into Europe, the argument amounts to very little.

There is, however, more weight in Mr. Ritson's assertion that the practice of the Druids was to sacrifice in *groves*, and he contends that it nowhere appears that they ever performed their mysterious rites on stone altars, in extensive plains, or on the tops of hills. He also points out the fact that similar monuments are found in countries where the Druidical religion never prevailed.* The practice of worshiping in groves was common among idolatrous tribes of Palestine, as we learn from many passages in the Old Testament; so also was that of worshipping in "high places." The Magi of Persia made their altars on lofty mountains, whence they could get a glimpse of the rising sun, before the world below could. Probably these circles of stones were erected by the most ancient sun-worshippers, who were supplanted by the Druidical Celts, and these latter, in their turn, made use of these places for religious purposes. This theory would explain all the difficulty, but we cannot enter upon it here. All historians concur in stating that Druidism flourished in Gaul and Britain at a very remote period. It was the predominant religion there for centuries before the Christian era, and retained its influence until the introduction of Christianity.

The Breton historians seem to entertain no doubt as to the use made of the cromlechs by the Druids; but they are unwilling to admit that human sacrifices were offered up to the Deity by the priests. The author of *La Bretagne ancienne et moderne* seeks to show that only criminals condemned to death were sacrificed in the later ages of Druidism, and that one must go back to remote antiquity to discover that it was usual to sacrifice captives taken in war.† The testimony of the Romans, however, to the prevalence of human sacrifices of all

* Ritson, *History of the Celts*, p. 73.

† p. 36.

descriptions is too strong to be rebutted. Cæsar says that when threatened by distempers and the imminent dangers of war, they (the Celts), made no scruple of sacrificing men or engaging themselves by a vow to such sacrifices in which they made use of the ministry of the Druids; for it was a prevalent opinion among them that *nothing but the life of a man could atone for the life of a man*, inasmuch that they had established public sacrifices of that kind. Some prepared a huge colossus of osier twigs into which they put men alive, and setting fire to it, those within expired in the flames. They preferred for victims such as had been convicted of theft, murder, or other crimes, but when real criminals were wanting, the innocent were often made to suffer.* They would seek in the entrails of an enemy for auguries as to their own destiny. Aged women, barefooted, gray-haired, with brazen girdles, accompanied their armies. The women prepared in the camp their apparatus of sorcery, their stool, cutlass and copper-kettle; then they cut the throats of the captives drawn by lot, pretended to read the future in the color of the blood, and divided the entrails between them with frightful howls. At other times the victims were crucified in public and pierced with a thousand arrows: or else a living hecatomb, enclosed in a colossus of osier in human shape, was burned amid horrible clamors, swelled by the songs of the bards.†

In Brittany, when a human sacrifice was to take place, the Druids assembled in the vicinity of the cromlech. The victim was then laid upon the *dolmen* at the foot of an aged oak, which was hung with trophies of arms. The chief-priest turning towards the East, invoked the light of the sun; the *vates* or augur then struck the victim below the diaphragm with one of those stone knives still to be found buried under the Celtic monuments, and amid the noise of the voices and the instruments of the bards, the priest interpreted the agony of the victim.‡ It is said that the victims were wont to invoke the aid of Hu to sustain them in their sufferings; but if this was

**De Bello Gallico*, l. vi. c. 15.

†*Ib.* l. iv. c. 16. Strabo viii; iv. 198. Diodorus v. 508.

‡*La Bretagne ancienne*, p. 36.

ever the case, it surely could only have been done by those who voluntarily offered themselves as sacrifices; it is scarcely credible that captives or criminals would have done it. M. de Villemarque gives a specimen of this species of prayer or chant uttered by the victim while stretched on the *dolmen*. It runs thus:—"Hu! oh thou whose wings cleave the air! oh thou whose son was the protector of great privileges, the bardic herald, the minister, oh father of the abyss! my tongue will tell my song of death in the midst of the circle of stones which encloses the world. Support of Brittany! Hu! whose forehead radiates, sustain me! This is the festival around the two lakes; one lake encircles me and encircles the circle; the circle encircles another circle girt with deep walls. A beautiful retreat is before it; great rocks shield it; the serpent advances crawling towards the vases of the sacrifice, the sacrifice with the golden horns. The golden horns are in his hand, his hand upon the knife, the knife upon my head."* This chant bears a resemblance to the Indian death song in *Atala*, and other romances connected with the North American Indians. The worship of Hu was further promoted by an occasional representation of the contest between his oxen and the beaver. The Druids conducted these representations, and the care of the sacred oxen was an important charge of the priesthood.†

Our notice of the ancient Druids of Brittany would be incomplete without a few words as to the priestesses of that religion. These women possessed peculiar rights. Men were excluded from their mystic ceremonies in some places; in others they could unveil the future only to their lovers; in others, they vowed perpetual celibacy. Pliny says‡ that they were sometimes present at nocturnal sacrifices, entirely naked, their bodies stained black, their hair loose, in frantic transports, and carrying blazing torches. These virgin-priestesses formed the first-class of the Druidesses; the guardians of the temples and those who figured in ceremonies were the second class; and the wives of Druids were the third class. They were specially dedicated to the worship of Koridwen, the wife of Hu, and cele-

* *Contes populaires.*† *La Bretagne ancienne*, p. 37.

‡ l. xvi. 44.

brated her festivals with dances which Strabo compares to those of the bacchantes and the orgies of Samothrace.* Their principal colleges occupied the islands adjacent to Armorica, viz, Ouessant (the *Ucantis* of the Greeks), Batz (the *Bursa insula* of the Romans), and Sein (the *Sena* of Pomponius); also a little island at the mouth of the Loire. The priestesses of the Nannetes exclusively composed this last mentioned college. At prescribed times, when night came, they embarked to visit their husbands on the continent, passed the night with them in huts expressly prepared, and rowed back at daybreak.† Every year it was their duty, between one night and another, having crowned themselves with ivy and green foliage, to pull off and rebuild the roof of their temple. If one of them by accident let any of the sacred materials fall on the ground, she was lost; her companions would spring upon her with horrible cries, tear her to pieces, and sow the pieces of her flesh here and there in the earth.‡ These savage women resembled the Amazons of Asia Minor in living apart from their husbands and visiting them at stated intervals. Is not this still further evidence of their Asiatic origin?

The remote antiquity of the history of Brittany is lost in legendary obscurity. There was a time when the Bretons were sun-worshippers, as we have seen; and this was before the advent of the Cimmerian Druids, but all is vague, and the period at which this advent occurred is unknown. The Druids were the rulers as well as the priests of the people, and remained so until the subjugation of Brittany by the Romans. The Breton historians, however, assert that their country was never completely conquered by that nation,§ but that it was in a constant state of revolt, and gave the Romans so much trouble that they had at last to content themselves with hemming it in by a chain of military stations. These insurrections lasted nearly four centuries, when at last an army of Bretons from Britain, under the leadership of a new *conan* (chief or king) of their common

* l. iv. 198.

† *ibid.*

‡ Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*. Vol. 1, p. 47. *la déchiraient et semaient, ca et la ses chairs sanglantes.*"

§ *La Bretagne ancienne*, p. 49.

race, arrived in Brittany to aid the Bretons in asserting their independence by aiding the usurper Maximus. This was in the year 383 of our era. This "Conan" was the celebrated Murdek or Meriadec (i. e. the great leader) better known by the double name of Conan Meriadec. The dismemberment of the Roman Empire and the death of Maximus (A. D. 383) enabled Meriadec to achieve the liberation of Brittany. He was rewarded by a collar of gold presented by the Breton chiefs, and he was elected *Pen-tiarn* or supreme king of the Armorican Confederation. The Romans tried in the year 416, to re-establish their sway in Brittany, but all they could do was to obtain a treaty of alliance (A. D. 419). The Romans magnified this into a substantial conquest, but M. Daru has clearly shown that their so doing was an absurd perversion of the truth.*

This period of Breton history is involved in great obscurity; and this obscurity continues down to the middle of the tenth century. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth,† Maximian, "king of Britain," with Conan Meriadec, prince of Brittany, landed in Armorica about the year 383. Imbault, king of Brittany, opposed their entry and was defeated in a battle wherein he lost 15,000 men. The Britons put all the men and male children of the country to death, but spared the women and female children. Conan Meriadec was made king of Armorica, and gave it the name of Brittany (*Bretagne*, from *Bretagne*, Britain.) In order to replace the slain Armoricans, Maximian brought over 100,000 men and 30,000 knights from Britain. At the same time he demanded that 60,000 plebeian women and 11,000 virgins of noble extraction should be sent over to be married to these warriors in order to re-people the country. But all of these women, as well noble as common, at the head of whom was St. Ursula, perished on the voyage. The Britons settled in Brittany were therefore obliged to marry the native women, but every husband cut out his wife's tongue lest the children should talk the Gaulish language which was that of their mothers! Such is the veracious narrative of Geoffrey,†

* *Recueil des Histoires de France*. Vol. 2, p. 30.

† *British History*. Book v. ch. xii—xvi.

which is followed by a history of the exploits of eleven succeeding British kings. These fables were adopted by the Breton historians of the 15th century, Alain Bouchard, Pierre Lebaud, and Bertrand d'Argentré, but were subsequently ridiculed and discarded by Lobineau, Vignier, and Vertot, the last of whom went so far as to deny the very existence of such personages as Conan Meriadek, and his successors, Hoel, Gradlon, Alain le long, Nebien, Deroch and others. They pointed out also that the martyrdom of St. Ursula is usually placed in the year 237, and not 383, and that the story of the 11,000 virgins arose from an absurd mistake, the taking of a proper name for a number in reading the Latin words and abbreviations "S. S. Ursula & Undecimillia V. M.," as "Saint Ursula and 11,000 virgin martyrs" instead of "Saint Ursula and Saint Undecimillia, virgin martyrs."*

The Abbé Vertot maintains † that Armorica formed part of the great French monarchy from the reign of Clovis (A. D. 486—511); that that prince brought the province under his own laws; and that it took the name of Little Bretagne from the insular Bretons, who, being driven out of their island by the Saxons, took refuge in that part of France in the reign of Childbert and Clotaire I., (A. D. 511—548). But it was allowed to have its own courts and judges, though in subordination to the counts whom the kings of France sent to command throughout the province. On the other hand, Lobineau contends ‡ that Bretagne was independent of France until the time of Charlemagne (A. D. 799.) Both parties cite authorities in support of their positions, but the truth seems to be that Brittany, from the time of its colonization by the Britons until that of its hereditary duties, was composed, as it had been before the time of the Romans, of distinct and independent states, each having its chief or sovereign count; and that these states, in order to protect themselves from foreign enemies, confederated together under a supreme chief, or king, not hereditary, as were the chiefs of each individual state, but elective, and subor-

* Vertot, *Critical History*. Preliminary discourse.

† Ibid. p. 47.

‡ Hist. Brit. Book 1, and *Answer to Treatise of Dependence*, p. 99-288.

dinate to the national assembly, according to the ancient Breton proverb, "le pays est plus puissant que le monarque." Thus, although the Breton historians give the title of king to Conan Meriadec, Gradlon, Budek, Hoël, Jarnithin, Morvan, Guyomarc, Nomevoë and others, these personages were in reality only counts of Leon, Vannes, Cornouaille, or Nantes. There is no doubt that these kings or chiefs are historical realities, in spite of the sneers of Vertot and the doubts of Lobineau,* and that they were independent of the kings of the Franks.

The language of Brittany was the same as that spoken by the Celtic Gauls, the first inhabitants of Armorica. It resisted for many ages the encroachments of the Latin, French and German languages, but since the union of Brittany with France, the French language has steadily gained ground and is now the vernacular, though there are still several dialects: those of Vannes, Leon, Treguier and Cornouailles are the principal; the first two differ considerably. But all the varieties of the once widely extended Celtic language are fast disappearing, and the Breton is but sharing the fate of the Gaelic, the Erse, the Irish, the Manx, the Cornish and the Welsh; the Breton was closely allied to the Welsh.† The people, however, retain their ancient physical characteristics. On entering Brittany from Normandy, by way of Dol, which was formerly the frontier bulwark against the Normans, the contrast between the inhabitants of the two provinces is remarkable. On the Norman side they have blue eyes, long oval faces and bright tinted complexions. On the Breton one sees short round faces, brown freckled complexions and sharp black eyes.‡ Moreover, the dress and the manners of the Bretons are different from those of the Normans, and the difference of their origin is apparent in various ways. Indeed, Brittany is unique in its way, and unlike any other part of France.

Many of its traditions are interesting romances, some of them world-renowned, like that of Blue Beard, which is a

* Gildas le Sage, *de Eccidio Britanniae* c. xi, Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* l. 1, c. xii.

† See the last chapter of *La Bretagne ancienne et moderne*.

‡ *Brittany and its Byways*, pp. 30, 31.

Breton legend; but it varies from the popular nursery tale considerably, and still more so from the historical narrative of Gilles de Raiz, who was publicly burnt at Nantes, in 1440, for necromancy, murder, and every conceivable crime, and who was nicknamed "Blue Beard" on account of his beard, which was of a blueish black. The nursery tale was founded on the history of Gilles de Raiz; the Breton version of it is more modern, inasmuch as it speaks of sporting guns, which were not in use in 1440; the names of the personages in it, too, are different. Yet both these Blue Beards were Bretons. That elegant writer, Emile Souvestre, whose premature death deprived the world of a genius of rare promise, has told the story of this second Bluebeard in his usual felicitous style. A translation of it is given in Mrs. Palliser's *Brittany and its Byways*.^{*} The substance of it is as follows; Guerech, Count of Vannes, had a daughter, Triphyna, whom he tenderly loved. She was demanded in marriage by Comarre, prince of Cornouaille, who was a giant and dreaded by every body for his cruelty. He had four wives, who all died mysteriously. Guerech refused to let him have Triphyna; whereupon Comarre marched against him with a large army, and there would have been terrible bloodshed had not St. Gildas persuaded Triphyna to agree to the marriage, and bestowed on her a silver ring which would give her notice of approaching danger by turning black. The marriage was solemnized with great splendor, and all went on well, until Comarre was compelled to go away to attend a meeting of the Breton princes at Rennes. Before his departure he gave Triphyna the keys of his castle, desiring her to amuse herself in his absence. After five months he unexpectedly returned and found her trimming an infant's cap with gold lace. He turned pale, and when she informed him that in two months he would be a father he rushed out in a fury. She found that the ring had turned black, and she went into the chapel to pray. At midnight the graves of the four wives opened and

^{*} pp. 194-99. The story of Gilles de Raiz is given in *La Bretagne ancienne et moderne*, p. 419. It is amusing to contrast the two legendary tales with the historical reality.

they came forth in their winding sheets to warn her to go back to her father, for Comarre would kill her for having told him what they had each told him in their turn. They instructed her how to escape. The first wife gave the poison which had killed her to Triphyna to kill Comarre's dog with; the second gave the rope which had strangled her to help Triphyna to descend the wall; the third gave the fire which had burnt her to light Triphyna through the dark; and the fourth gave the stick which had broken her skull, to help Triphyna on her way. With this assistance she escaped from the castle and took the road to Vannes; but Comarre pursued her and found her track. Unable to go further she lay down on the ground and gave birth to a boy of marvellous beauty. While lying there she saw her father's falcon hovering over her, and calling it to her gave it the warning ring and directed it to carry it to her father. The falcon did so, but at that moment Comarre came in sight, and Triphyna had only time to hide her babe in the hollow of a tree before he reached her and with one blow severed her head from her body. The falcon found her father at dinner with St. Gildas and gave him the ring. They instantly rose and followed the falcon to where Triphyna lay. St. Gildas caused the body to rise up, carry the babe in its left arm, take the head in its right hand, and lead the way to Comarre's castle. The saint announced to the prince that he had brought back Triphyna and her child, and asked him thrice if he would receive them; but he made no answer. Then St. Gildas placed the child on the ground, and it at once walked up to the edge of the moat, threw a handful of earth against the castle, and exclaimed "Let the Trinity execute judgment!" Thereupon the towers fell and the castle sank, burying Comarre in its ruins, and the saint, replacing Triphyna's head on her shoulders, restored her to life.

In this summary of Souvestre's narrative many characteristic details have been omitted, but the Breton religious tone pervades it, as it does the legends of the Lady of La Garaye and Gilles de Bretagne. Of these two the first has recently been made popular by a pretty poem by Mrs. Norton of which it is the theme. The ruined chateau of La Garaye is an object of in-

terest to travellers and of veneration to the Bretons on account of the virtues and sufferings of its last count and countess. They were both young, beautiful, rich, and hospitable; but one day the countess was thrown from her horse, the expectation of an heir vanished, and she became a cripple for life. They were for a time inconsolable, but at length a monk shewed them that there was happiness in store for them in ministering to the comforts of others. They then went to Paris, where for three years the count studied medicine and surgery, and his wife became a skilful oculist. On their return to La Garaye they gave up all kinds of amusements and converted their chateau into a hospital, where they themselves tended the sick and wounded. When the plague visited Marseilles they offered their services to the bishop of that city. The fame of their virtues reached the court, and Louis XV. sent to the count the order of St. Lazarus with 50,000 livres and a contract on the post of 25,000 more. They both died at an advanced age within two years of each other.*

The legend of Gilles de Bretagne† reminds one of Jacques du Molay, the last of the Grand Templars, who while suffering death from the torture, cited his persecutor, Philip IV., to appear at the bar of God within forty days. Gilles was the third son of John V., duke of Brittany; his wife was the most beautiful and accomplished woman of her time; she had been betrothed from infancy to the Sire de Grave, but her father died when she was only eight years old, and Gilles carried her off by force and took her to the chateau of Guildo. His bitter enemy, Arthur de Montauban, represented to Gilles' brother, the Duke Francis, that this was a hostile movement, and the duke persuaded the King, Charles VII., to arrest him for carrying on treasonable correspondence with the English. All his efforts to prove his innocence or to obtain mercy were unavailing. He was dragged from prison to prison, and starved. The wretched Gilles would stand at his prison window, calling on the passers-by to give him bread, but no one dared to do it; at last a poor woman placed a loaf on the edge

* *Brittany and its Byways*, pp. 57-61.

† *Ibid*, pp. 46-49.

of his window, and continued to share her bread with him for six months. Seeing he could hold out no longer, Gilles begged her to send him a minister of religion. By stealth she brought him a Cordelier monk, who confessed him, and promised to acquaint his brother with his pitiable condition. The monk started on his errand, but while he was gone the jailors smothered Gilles between two mattresses. The monk met the brother (Duke Francis) and cited him to appear within fifty days at the tribunal of Heaven to answer for Gilles murder. The menace was realised. The duke, struck with remorse and terrified at the summons, died within the appointed time, and the monk was never seen again.

This strong religious sentiment is annually manifested by the Bretons in their pilgrimages (called Pardons) to various shrines, especially those of St. Anne de la Palue, and Ploërmel; and many a legend of divine interposition in their affairs is found in the history of this singular and original people. We are tempted to conclude with one more characteristic legend. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century there lived in the woods of Lesneven a poor, idiot boy, called Salaun, better known as "the fool of the wood." He was miserably clad and had no bed but the ground, no pillow but a stone, no roof but a tree. He went daily to Lesneven to seek his bread, but he never begged; he merely uttered the words "Ave Maria! Salaun could eat bread," and returned with whatever pittance was given him to his tree near a fountain, into which he dipped his crusts, and plunged for his bath, even in the depth of winter, always repeating the words "Ave Maria!" He led this life for forty years, when at last he fell ill and died, repeating the words "Ave Maria!" He was found dead near the fountain and was buried by his neighbors. After a time, when the memory of the poor idiot boy had nearly passed away, there suddenly sprang up from his grave a white lily with the words "Ave Maria!" inscribed in gold on its petals. The duke caused the grave to be opened, and it was found that the lily proceeded from the mouth of Salaun. The duke built a church over the spot, which became a shrine of pilgrimage with especial privileges.

ART. IV.—*Books, Pamphlets, Treatises, Letters, Advertisements, etc., etc.* By various members of the ancient fraternity of Quack Doctors. New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, etc. 1871.

THERE are but few who estimate the difference between the public health and the public wealth. Even the most thoughtful are apt to forget that whereas the greatest nations have sickened and died from excess of wealth, no nation has either sickened or died from excess of health. Whom, then, should we fear most—those who rob us of our money, or those who rob us of our health? This is fully answered by the fact, that, when the question seriously arises, whether one will part with his money, or his life, none hesitate. The most grasping miser will surrender his purse rather than his existence.

But here the danger to life is immediate; and as such it is realized. The miser acts altogether differently if the danger is distant, and slow in its approach. In this case the probability is that he will not recognize it at all. Supposing his health becomes impaired? This he dislikes as much as any one; still he will rather suffer on than relinquish any profitable habit, because he fails to comprehend that incurable sickness, though slow in its progress, destroys life as effectually as the pistol or the dagger of the highwayman.

Unfortunately the public is very much like the miser in this respect. The public is highly excited if it knows, or believes, that it has been robbed of a portion of its money; and it is very much incensed against the robber or robbers. This, when not carried to excess, is a just and natural feeling; and we hold that it should be sufficiently enduring to secure the condign punishment of the malefactors. But should attacks on the public treasury excite our indignation more than attacks on the public health? Are the former worse calamities in proportion as they are successful than the latter? Are they more dangerous enemies who filch millions of dollars from the public coffers than those who ruin the health of millions of people?

At first view this comparison may seem unjust to our Quack Doctors; but if the most skeptical reader will have patience

with us until we come to the proper place for exhibiting the facts, we think we can convince even him that we indulge in no exaggeration as to the amount of injury inflicted on the American people by that numerous, pretentious and greedy tribe. Nor is this any new discovery on our part. It is one of the first evils against which we warned the public in this journal.* More than once we have fully discussed it;† and we have never ceased to denounce it as a national calamity. In our first article we gave no names, but we soon found that mere allusions, or even portraiture, had little effect on this class. Those most fully described affected to believe that it was not they but their rivals who were meant. At all events, they cared little as long as their dupes remained uninformed as to their real personal character. Accordingly, no charges were made against us for our first article; instead of being abused by any member of the fraternity many pretended to thank us warmly, telling us that such and such quacks ought to have been exposed long since. This satisfied us that there is at least one class of malefactors whom it is useless to address in parables, or to describe in general terms; indeed we were convinced that in order to do any good we must point out the charlatans in language so plain that it is impossible to confound them with any others. This, however, we did not fail to do.

It was then a favorite plan among the tribe to employ some scribe to get up "books" in their name, so that when they proclaimed their wonderful skill in the cure of all manner of diseases, they could place after their names "Author of—etc., etc." Sometimes they contented themselves with ordering "A Series of Letters" which they inserted in the newspapers, and which, although, of course, mere advertisements, and paid for as such, purported to have been written by "the doctor" solely for the purpose of enlightening the public. True, the "Letters," too, generally appear in book form, it being well known that there are a numerous class who think that he must, indeed, be an infal-

* See N. Q. R., No. IV., Art. "Quackery and the Quacked," March 1861.

† No. XVI, March 1864, Art. "Our Quack Doctors and their Performances."

lible doctor who has written things which after having enlightened so many hundreds of thousands in the newspapers in regard to his cures, are deemed worth reprinting in the shape of a handsome book.

Be this as it may, we took up the books, pamphlets, letters, lectures, etc., examined them, described them, and, as far as possible, gave specimens of them in these pages. We did not make the slightest distinction between the quacks of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, San Francisco, etc., further than was claimed by their performances when compared with each other. Personally, we knew nothing whatever of any of the fraternity; and since we have always refused to insert quack advertisements on any terms, and that no such advertisements have ever appeared in this journal, it could hardly be pretended even by the quacks that in exposing and denouncing them we were actuated by vindictive or personal motives. Yet because this time we plainly indicated the chief malefactors, enabling our readers to judge them by their pretensions—although compelled to draw a veil of their disgusting obscenities in order to avoid offending our readers—never have we been so grossly abused by any of the various gangs of culprits whose peculiar operations we have exposed, with the sole exception of that once so worthily led by Mr. Ring-Leader Sweeny. The latter gang, it is true, proved viler and baser to us than the worst of the quack doctors; but since it no longer exists, and that we were the first ourselves to make certain preparations for its grave, we shall have nothing to say of it here, further than to refer to its untimely fate as a warning to all transgressors; and yet we think it quite possible that even its ghost, cunning and wily as that perturbed spirit is, may be compelled to disgorge at least a part of its plunder.

This, however, is not the first time that we have compared the late president of the Park Commissioners to one of our quacks. When that doughty personage was at the meridian of his power, we made the following observation among others: "However, be this as it may, it is but fair to take into account that it is exactly the same class, *i. e.*, the most ignorant and most credulous who do the voting for Sweeny and buy the bu-

chu for Helmbold. Ignorance and imbecility are as much the basis of the greatness of the one, as they are that of the greatness of the other."* This was a mere incidental remark suggested by the fact that the "doctor" and the "colonel" were just then vying with each other in showing off their coaches-and-six, and that it was in order to gratify citizens so illustrious, by enabling them to turn their equipages wherever they wished, that President Sweeny made the only alteration in the Central Park that could be regarded as an improvement. We said at the time that the widening of the road was not the less useful to the public on this account, and that we referred to the circumstance merely to show how proud the city of New York ought to be of an official whose chief aim it was to accommodate and oblige such men.

But we remarked above, that, after all, the quack doctors do the nation more injury than all the official rogues who pilfer from its coffers. Incredible though this may seem, especially at the present moment, when public attention is concentrated on recent outrageous robberies, it would be strictly true even though there were Ring thieves with Sarpi "Brains," in full power in every state in the Union. Indeed, it is only lack of thought that causes any doubt on the subject. A very slight amount of reflection, combined with an investigating turn, would render it needless for us to adduce any arguments as to the comparative mischief done by quack doctors and their drugs.

Let us see. Supposing the public coffers had been robbed lately, not of twenty or thirty millions, but of a hundred millions, will it be believed that the quacks throughout the United States have taken the maximum sum out of the pockets of the people? Whether it be believed or not, such is really the fact; nor should we exaggerate if we mentioned a much larger amount. Then, be it remembered, that the money taken by the quacks comes chiefly out of the pockets of the poor, while that taken by our dishonest functionaries comes chiefly out of the pockets of the rich.

* N. Q. R., No. XLIV. Art. C. Park U. R. L. R.

But besides possessing themselves of the people's money by false representations so as to make themselves millionaires, and enable them to laugh in their gilded palaces and coaches-and-six at their innumerable dupes, the quacks undermine and ruin the health of millions. It is painful to admit that nowhere in the world do the mountebanks flourish as they do with us, since it is agreed among the most accurate thinkers and most careful observers of all ages and countries, that they thrive best on ignorance and credulity, when the ignorant and credulous are not so destitute as to be unable to buy their drugs. Speaking of the nefarious trade, Montesquieu says: "*Elle abonde partout où sont en majorité les ignorants et les sots.*" "There is hardly a man in the world one would think so ignorant," says Addison, "as not to know that the quack doctors who publish their great abilities are to a man impostors and murderers; yet such is the credulity of the vulgar, and the impudence of those professors that the affair still goes on, and new promises of what was never known before are made every day."* In another number† of the Spectator we are told that, "There is scarcely a city in Great Britain but has one of this tribe, who takes it into his protection, and on the market day harangues the good people of the place with aphorisms and receipts. You may depend upon it he comes not there for his own private interest, but out of a particular affection for the town."

Every reader of the newspapers can tell how those "harangues" are made at the present day. There is some change in the mode, but the essential plan is the same to-day, in this country, as it was in England a century and a half ago. The injury done to the British public would have been much greater to-day than it was when Addison wrote, had not parliament taken the matter in hand and passed a law prohibiting even physicians and surgeons, under heavy penalties, from compounding or vending medicines without express authority from the Apothecaries' Hall. It is true that the law is evaded to a considerable extent, but that it has diminished the traffic in deleterious drugs at least fifty per cent. and protected

* Spectator No. 444. July 31, 1712.

† 572.

the health of the people in a still larger ratio, is admitted by all unprejudiced, intelligent men who have given any attention to the subject. We wish we had space and time to lay before our readers the testimony of even three or four of the eminent physicians and scientific men who were examined before a select committee of the House of Commons in 1856, while the new bill against quackery was in preparation. But we must content ourselves with one statement made by Sir Philip Crampton, surgeon-general of the British army—an eminent physician who could not be said to have been actuated by any selfish motive. "These individuals (the quacks) commit more havoc," says Sir Philip, "destroy more human happiness, and crush out more human life than if *every ship in the navy were committed to the mercy of the waves with only lunatics at the helm, or than if every engine, on every railway, were driven by the wildest inhabitant of Bedlam.*" Now, if this was but too true as applied to the quacks of England in 1856, what language is strong enough to give any adequate idea of the havoc committed on the health and lives of the American people at the present day?

A short time since the public was much excited and highly indignant at the murderous conduct of Rossenweig and other "abortionists." This was natural and just, and the sentence passed on the convicted mountebank, although as severe as the law would allow, was only too mild. Yet, far from doing more mischief than other quacks who flaunt about in their coaches-and-six, aping the style of kings and emperors, he has done infinitely less, even assuming that he has killed a score of young ladies. The difference is this: one kills quickly, while the other kills slowly. Those who are killed gradually—whose life-blood is poisoned almost imperceptibly—excite no public indignation. The victims themselves have generally no idea that it is the drug upon which they have been spending their money for months or for years that has brought them to an untimely grave, instead of proving the all-curing elixir which they were led to believe it was.

In short, no matter how many have been killed by the infanticides, at least a hundredfold have been killed by those

mountebanks who, with two or three drugs, or one drug under different names, pretend to cure all manner of diseases. Nor is public decency more outraged, or vice more encouraged by the former than by the latter. This fact might not be inferred from the advertisements of the different imposters as they appear in the newspapers; or even from their published "testimonials," giving details of wonderful cures. As any one endowed with common sense might easily understand, without being told, those repetitions of a few phrases, which fill not only whole columns but whole pages in the newspapers, are merely intended to attract the credulous. This done, the "books" and "treatises" are brought into requisition; and we can truly say, that more obscene, filthy things than some of these we have never seen in any part of the world. But will our readers believe that it is those who make most display, and affect most grandeur and "style," that disseminate the most disgusting "books?"

We have now before us quite a pile of this class. We take up one as a specimen. The quack doctors, like others who want to enrich themselves by deception and fraud, find it necessary to have confederates. One manufactures the miraculous drugs whose potent virtues no disease, however deep-seated or inveterate, can resist; another gives a long list of diseases, describing "symptoms" of the most loathsome, his only prescription in any case being the drug of his employer. For an illustration of all this we need not go beyond a thing entitled "The Dime Physician, a Treatise on —." The "author" 's name is given in full on the title-page, with the addition of "M.D., Graduate of University and Professor of Surgery." What the "university" is, or where the professor's "chair" may be found, is not stated.

We should have supposed that the former was no other than the famous institution in which the "university medicines" are manufactured for the benefit of suffering humanity, had we not been aware that the heads of the two manufactories are not merely rivals, but inveterate and irreconcilable enemies to each other. True, we were puzzled a little at first—we did not think of the renowned Dr. J. Walter Scott, because when we wrote

our last article on miracles his establishment was but the "Medical Institute." We had forgotten that in a few years it had become a "university," although we might have expected any amount of progress and prosperity from the wonders performed at the "Institute" in 1864.*

Be this as it may, "The Dime Physician" is as full of obscenities as it is of false pretensions. If we are to believe it, both married and single ladies write to Helmbold, from all parts of the country, in the most familiar and grateful language, telling him how they have been cured of the most loathsome diseases by his wonderful preparations. Among those grateful epistles we find one "from a young lady," from which we gave an extract in 1864, and which then purported to have been written three years previously, but which now bears a date more than four years later! As this is one of the least objectionable of its kind we find in the performance before us, we present it to our readers as a specimen, together with the information given at the bottom as to the number of bottles required:

"MR. HELMBOLD.—*Dear Sir:* I am very happy to inform you that the medicine you sent has entirely cured me, and please accept my gratitude. You will remember that it was a disease of a private nature, which I contracted while I was imprudent enough to allow my desires to control me. The pain and inflammation soon subsided, and the discharge gradually so, and I am now as well as ever.

* Vide Art. "Our Quack Doctors and their Performances," No. XVI.—For the benefit of such as may not find it convenient to see our extracts from the Doctor's "Golden Book," we now reproduce one:

"SAMPLE OF CURES PERFORMED AT THE INSTITUTE.

- "A case of Deafness (sixteen years' standing) cured in twelve days.
- A case of Catarrh cured in one week.
- A case of Rheumatism cured in fifteen minutes.
- A case of Scrofula (terrible) cured in one month.
- A case of Burns (severe) cured in thirty seconds.
- A case of Cancer cured in six weeks.
- A case of Paralysis cured in three weeks.
- A case of Neuralgia cured in five minutes.
- A case of Consumption (second stage) cured in seven weeks.
- A case of Dyspepsia cured in one week.
- A case of Falling of the Womb cured in one week.
- A case of Irregularities cured in one day.
- A case of Amaurosis cured in twenty-one days.
- A case of Spinal Disease (Lateral Curvature) cured in two months."

"If you think I ought to take some Extract Sarsaparilla, I have enclosed you \$5.00, and you can send me six bottles of it; or, if not necessary, return the money by bearer.

"I am, sir, yours with respect,

MARY J. E——

"This patient took six bottles Buchu, three Rose Wash, and six Extract Sarsaparilla."

We are sure that it is superfluous to remark to our readers that "Mary J. E——" is a purely mythical "young lady"—one conjured up for the purpose of showing how little afraid young ladies need be of being a little "imprudent," since the consequences of their imprudence may be so easily and so cheaply remedied, for be it remembered that, let the difficulty be what it may, one or other of the drugs mentioned will remove it and make the patient "as well as ever." Another "young lady," with a similar story, writes to the same personage from Harrisburg, another from Doylestown, etc., etc.

Of course the men, young and old, are equally communicative and grateful. How could they be otherwise, seeing that they, also, have been cured of all kinds of maladies and distempers by the same miraculous bottles! For, be it observed, that it is not any one disease, or class of diseases, that are infallibly cured by the Helmbold drugs, but maladies the most different from each other, such as "scrofula," "cancerous affections," "glandular swellings," "chronic rheumatism," "dropsy," "labor pains," "horror of disease," "weak nerves," "rickets," "sore mouth," "bronchitis," "cancers," etc., etc.

When we compared the individual who undertakes all this to Rossenweig, no doubt we seemed to many to do the former an injustice; but none competent to judge, will say, or think so after having calmly and carefully examined the facts. A policeman mounts guard daily at the office of Madam Restell, and his chief duty is to warn all who would become a party to her murderous practices. Whoever originated this surveillance, he deserves much credit. But as we have said in the case of Rossenweig, if no restraint were placed on Madam Restell or her patrons—if she were allowed to kill all willing to submit to her "treatment,"—still we maintain that the amount of injury she would do to life, health, and public morality would

be trifling compared to that done by those who palm off on the credulous and ignorant masses such drugs as have their pæan sung in the vile publication alluded to. Yet there is no restraint on the manufacturers, venders, or puffers of those drugs; on the contrary, the party who get most of the money for them—blood-money, and swindled money, though it may justly be called—are not only exempt from any surveillance, but are enabled to boast of “moving in our best society,” and of exciting the envy of all around them by the splendor of their equipages.*

It is only as a specimen of his tribe, however, that we mention one member of the fraternity more than another. No doubt there are others who do as much mischief as the “six-in-hand” man, but we are convinced that none do more.

Those who devote themselves to what they call “specialities”—that is, those who pretend to be infallible only in from a dozen to a score of maladies—may be as ignorant and unprincipled as those who pretend to cure all; but because the former have not as many to dose, or to operate upon, as the latter, the amount of mischief they can do, though often immense, is less in proportion. Thus, one individual proclaims how he had lost one of his lungs, or nearly both, by consumption, but that he discovered certain drugs which completely restored those useful organs. None should doubt that the person who thus miraculously cured himself could cure at least all diseases of the respiratory organs. Accordingly he goes about from one city to another issuing his proclamations in advance, so that all sufferers in his peculiar department may be ready to avail themselves of his infallible preparations. If, instead of curing any, he renders many incurable, and kills a goodly proportion, his drugs are comparatively slow in their operation; those who take them are generally poor

* In illustration of this we may remark, that in an article in our last number entitled “Our Aristocracy as manufactured from the raw material,” we quoted the following paragraph among others from one of the “Society” journals:

“The Heimbolds have a very elegant turn-out, and their six-in-hand vies with Colonel Fisk’s. It has not made its appearance this season, for the family are in Saratoga, spending a little time before coming to Long Branch.”

ignorant, and friendless—the doctor pockets his money and “moves in high society,” and the early graves excite no indignation. If the least suspicion should arise as to the cause of death, “testimonials” in abundance are to be had from our “first citizens,” each bearing admiring, enthusiastic testimony to some recent, marvellous cure.

Another of the “specialists” is so modest that he pretends to be infallible only in diseases of the eye, ear, throat, etc. This is one of the great geniuses alluded to above, whose “treatises,” “letters,” etc., are periodically given to the world in the newspapers of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, etc.; although instead of the editors paying the learned author for thus enlightening the world through their columns, it is he who has to pay them—ungrateful, unphilanthropic men!—for the privilege of rendering so unspeakable a service to humanity!

It is, of course, with no selfish motive that the Doctor pays the twentieth time for the publication of exactly the same information. “Our object,” he says, “in publishing this essay is to diffuse a general and correct knowledge of the causes, etc., etc.” In the same philanthropic spirit he warns the sufferers against “allowing physicians to prescribe for them who do so at haphazard,” etc. In short, none but him should be trusted; all others are imposters! In proof of the fact, see his numerous “testimonials” showing what an immense number have had their eyes, ears and throats made as “well as ever” after scores of those imbeciles and blunderers, vulgarly called “regular physicians,” had given all up as lost. If, instead of all this, the real fact is, in nineteen cases out of twenty, that the eyes, ears and throats upon which the great “specialist” has been allowed to operate have grown worse—a large proportion having been destroyed altogether by his wonderful skill and dexterity—who has a right to be surprised? And still less surprising would it be, in our opinion, if, on a careful examination of the ears of all who put their faith in such promises and pretensions, they were found to be much longer than those of other people.

We might fill our whole journal with outlines of the *modus*

operandi of other members of the fraternity; but the few we have thus briefly sketched will serve as representatives of nearly all the various grades. So large a multitude of quacks could not flourish as they do were it not that their nostrums sell in immense quantities. This, indeed, is but too obvious. Is it any wonder, then, that in proportion to the population, the bills of mortality of the masses of our people exhibit a far larger number of "early graves" than those of any other people in the world possessed of equal political and social advantages? Is it any wonder that we are constantly hearing of new diseases among the classes who consume those various drugs? In short, is it any wonder that the most eminent physiologists of all nations, including our own, declare that the Caucasian race is degenerating in the United States both physically and intellectually?

The newspapers are blamed not a little—and sometimes they mutually blame each other—for the mischief done by the quacks. But it should be remembered that long before there were newspapers, the tribe were well known. We find them denounced and ridiculed by the earliest satirists of whose works we have any fragments left, including Menander, Aristophanes, and Lucian.* The contempt and scorn of all intelligent, thinking men of their time for them are well and frequently expressed by Juvenal, Persius and Horace. Every student of the classics is familiar with the portrait drawn by Phaedrus, the Roman La Fontaine, of the famous quack of his time, who, having failed in the avocation of a cobbler, to which he had been brought up, changed his residence and his name, invented a specific, and with the aid of a certain kind of eloquence, persuaded the soft-headed and long-eared in the neighborhood of his new abode, that he had no equal in the healing art:

"Malus quum sutor, inopia deperditus,
Medicinam ignoto facere coepisset loco,
Et venditaret falso antidotum nomine,
Verbosis adquisivit sibi famam strophis."

* Aristotle informs us that in his time the tribe were ranked with conjurers, soothsayers, and other vagabonds and impostors, and that they had to pay the third part of their gains by way of tax.—See Aristotle's *Economics* B. II., C. II.

None can say that the newspapers had any share in forming the character of Molière's Sganarelle, so admirably portrayed in *Le Médecin Malgré Lui*, and who pretended to be so skilful as to have cured, in an instant, a woman who had been regarded as dead for six hours, and whose case had baffled all the regular faculty.* Still less can it be pretended that the renowned Sangrado derived any aid in his wonderful operations from what did not exist when his portrait was drawn by La Sage. We see no reason, therefore, to alter the views to which we gave expression on the same subject more than seven years ago (1864). Accordingly, we reproduce those views here. They will show, at least, that our opinions have not been derived from the discussion of recent performances, such as those of Rossenweig:

"As to the conductors of the daily journals, we do not hold that they are at all to blame for inserting advertisements of commodities which, however deleterious, are purchased in immense quantities. It is not the business or the duty of an editor to test the truthfulness of statements made by advertisers relative to their own commodities. If people are so credulous and silly as to believe that any nostrum or nostrums, or any doctor, will cure all manner of diseases as if by magic, that is their affair; editors are not obliged to furnish them with brains, or even common sense, for four cents a day. But it is entirely different with editors of journals which call themselves 'religious.' The latter are bound, by their own professions and promises, not only to put the unwary on their guard against imposition, but to expose whatever is false and deceptive; since falsehood and deception are as antagonistic to religion as they are to morality. It is not the less true, however, we regret to say, that no other class of editors are more ready to recommend quack medicines; and that the quacks appreciate them accordingly we have evidence on all sides."†

We are not the less willing to acquit the daily editors of serious blame for publishing quack advertisements, from the

* *Martine*—Comment! c'est un homme qui fait des miracles. Il y a six mois qu'une femme fut abandonnée de tous les autres médecins; on la tenoit morte il y avoit déjà six heures, et l'on se disposoit à l'ensevelir, lorsqu'on y fit venir de force l'homme dont nous parlons. Il lui mit, l'ayant vue, une petite goutte de je ne sais quoi dans la bouche; et dans le même instant, elle se leva de son lit et se mit aussitôt à se promener dans sa chambre comme si de rien n'eût été.
—*Le Médecin Malgré Lui*. Acte I., scène v.

† N. Q. R. No. XVI., Vol. VIII., p. 324.

fact that we have never published such ourselves, and never will. Acknowledging that it is incumbent on the conductors of periodicals to be more discriminating in this as well as in other respects than the conductors of daily papers, we claim no credit for excluding from our pages a class of advertisements whose influence we believe to be demoralizing, and which we know to be objectionable to nine-tenths of our readers. But, were we obliged to discriminate between the Rossenweig advertisements and those of the parties who issue "books" like the "Dime Physician," we should feel considerably puzzled; for, as already remarked, we have not the least doubt that the latter are the cause of much more extensive havoc on health and life than the former. In our estimation, the comparison is that between the ignorant individual who practises with the lancet and the hundred ignorant individuals who practise with slow poison: when the former is bolder or rougher than usual, the consequence is at once apparent—the blood and the sudden death tell against him. At worst, he cannot kill many before he is detected; whereas those armed with the slow poison may continue their depredations for years without being even suspected.

But although it is true, as we have said, that there were quacks long before newspapers, it is equally true that, if our leading daily journals would criticise the performances of our mountebanks as they do those of other impostors, we should not have one of that tribe in a few years for every score we have now. Nay, those who have already enriched themselves at the expense of the poor, ignorant, and credulous, would have to cease their nefarious traffic as quickly as the robbers of the Ring have had to cease theirs; and we repeat that, bad as the latter are, the former are infinitely more dangerous public enemies, since they not only take the money of those who have least of it to spare, but also take the lives of thousands, and completely break down, instead of preserving or restoring, the health of hundreds of thousands.

What we want, in the first place, is a restrictive law, like those of England, France, and Prussia—a law which would bring the swindling mountebanks within the jurisdiction of men like

Judge Bedford. But when can we expect such from the sort of legislators which the classes who suffer most elect at the present day? No intelligent person who has any discrimination, or makes use of his reasoning faculties, need be informed that those legislators are the best friends of the quacks; for not only do they furnish "testimonials" as to the marvellous efficacy of their drugs, but, when suitably urged, they are ready to charter some of their manufactories. Thus, no fewer than eleven, with the prefix "Hon.," are given as references, in the "Dime Physician," in regard to one miraculous cure, and under their names, which are set forth in full with their titles, is the information, "And many others if necessary." All these law-givers are Pennsylvanians. But how many quack firms have been incorporated by the legislature of New York within the last decade? Has it not given aid and comfort in this way even to the manufacturers of the so-called "university medicines?" If, after a while, it would incorporate the firm of Rossenweig, Restell & Co., appointing the lady "Dean of the Faculty," many whose memory is not entirely gone would think the proceeding a strange one; but will the reader admit now that it would not be stranger, more discreditable, or more dangerous to society than several of its similar performances?

ART. V.—1. *Précis de l'Art de la guerre, ou nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique, et de la politique militaire.* Par le BARON JOMINI. 2 tomes. Paris. 1838.

2. *Observations on modern systems of Fortification, including that proposed by M. Carnot, and a comparison of the polygonal with the bastion system; to which are added some reflections on intrenched positions, and a tract on the naval, littoral and internal defence of England.* By General SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS, Bart., G. C. B., etc. London. 1859.

3. *Notes on Sea-Coast Defence: consisting of Sea-Coast Fortification, the fifteen-inch gun, and casemate embrasures.* By Major J. G. BARNARD, U. S. Corps of Engineers. New York. 1861.
4. *Letter to the Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, presenting for his consideration a new plan for the fortification of certain points of the sea-coast of the United States.* By JAMES ST. C. MARTIN, First Lieut. of Engineers. Washington. 1858.

THE fallacy of supposing that a country is safe if she has a strong line of frontier fortresses was singularly exemplified in the last war of Napoleon I.* The celebrated Carnot, who reduced to paper the thoughts of that illustrious master of the art of war on the uses of forts and military engineering, congratulated France on the fact of her barriers being absolutely inexpugnable by any power, or coalition of powers, whatever, if well defended.† Yet the allied powers crossed the French frontiers in several places and marched straight to Paris, in 1814, and again in 1815. But it may well be perceived that this false estimate of the impregnability of the frontier led to fatal consequences. "In it," says Sir Howard Douglas, "we discover the ground upon which Bonaparte founded the delusive conviction that his empire was secure against any *reunion de puissances*, whatever might be the issue of his exterior operations. This presumptuous declaration, circulated afresh about the time he was forming the plan of his

* Les forteresses ont deux destinations capitales à remplir: la première, c'est de couvrir les frontières: la seconde, de favoriser les opérations de l'armée en campagne..... Toutefois, il faut bien l'avouer, ces belles défenses de l'art n'empêcheront jamais entièrement une armée de passer, d'abord parce que les petits forts qu'on peut construire dans les gorges sont susceptibles d'être enlevés, ensuite parce qu'on trouve toujours quelque chemin jugé impraticable et où un ennemi audacieux parvient, à force de travail, à se frayer une issue."—*Précis*, vol. i, p. 835.

† "De l'écrit qu'on vient de lire, résulte, je crois, bien évidemment, cette vérité tranquillisante, c'est que les barrières de l'Empire Français sont absolument inexpugnables, pour quelque puissance ou réunion de puissances, que ce soit, si elles sont bien défendues.—Carnot, *Mémoire de la Défense des places fortes*, p. 476.

final aggression, vainly assumes the perfect stability of the fulcrum upon which he expected to complete the subjugation of Europe, and shows that the operation in which it was thought that he risked much, and which proved so desperate, was considered by him, and declared by the ex-minister of war, one in which there was full security from that reaction which we have seen recoil upon it with overwhelming force."*

In considering the subject of fortified cities as applicable to modern wants, it is useless to refer to antiquity. In ancient times every city was fortified; in fact, the first thing the founders of a new town did was to build a strong and lofty wall around the intended site: nay, they sometimes had to fight while doing it. In rebuilding Jerusalem "they which builded on the wall, and they that bore burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon. So we labored in the work; and half of them held the spears from the rising of the morning until the stars appeared."† Warfare was the habitual occupation of men, and therefore not merely the cities, but the principal dwellings and public buildings within them, were fortified. There is now nothing resembling this state of things in any civilized land, and therefore no precedents can be drawn from it. Moreover, the invention of gunpowder has utterly destroyed all former modes of war, and sieges which once lasted years now last only as many weeks.

Some striking illustrations of the difference between ancient and modern warfare are given by Sir Howard Douglas.‡ For instance, Calais was reduced by Edward III. by famine, every attempt to take it by force having failed; after a siege which lasted a year, the place surrendered (4th August, 1347). The Duke of Burgundy also failed before it in 1436. But the Duke of Guise attacked it in 1558, breached the walls with his artillery, and took it in eight days. Edward III. besieged Tournai, in 1350, with a very large force, but failed to take it; indeed, he nearly lost his army there: but in 1581 it was breached by

* Observations, p. 3.

† Nehemiah iv., 17-21.

‡ Observations, p. 33.

the Spaniards under the Prince of Parma, after a few days of open trenches, and forced to surrender. At the siege of Romorantin by the Black Prince, in 1356, the first attempts were made in the old way and repulsed; upon which the engineers caused some batteries of cannon to be erected, by which the place was set on fire and soon forced to capitulate. A hundred other instances might be cited, but these will suffice for a point in respect of which there can hardly be any serious dispute now-a-days.

The recent siege of Paris has revived the interest in this subject which it possessed for us a few years back, but which was beginning to grow faint amid the subsidings of our troubled waters. When the Crimean war was raging the attention of our naval and military engineers was directed towards the enormous armaments of England and France, and especially to their modes of attacking the Russian fort; in like manner they studied the devices resorted to by the Russian engineers to repel these assaults. The siege of Sebastopol was a crucial test of the progress which had been made in the art of war up to the year 1855. Guns of a calibre hitherto unused were brought to bear on the doomed city; and the aid of steam was evoked in their transportation as well as in that of men and stores. The allies had it all their own way at sea, for the Russians had sunk some of their ships in the mouth of the harbor, to block its entrance, and made the rest serve as batteries. But with all their resources in men, money and materials the allies were nearly a year before they could get possession of the place; and it has been said that a quarter of a million of men perished in the attack and the defence. The siege of this one fortified place thus concentrated in a single locality the united efforts of Russia, France, and England, and spared the empire of the Czar from further ravages. It decided one point in the science of attack, viz., that wooden ships, no matter how powerful their armament, are no match for stone walls.

The fact, however, had been established previously. Sir Charles Napier had been sent with the largest ships in the British Navy to destroy (*if he could*) the forts in the harbor of Cronstadt; but when he arrived there he liked the look of the

Russian batteries so little that he declined attempting to approach them. At Bomarsund, a comparatively small port on an island in the Baltic, the allied fleets were repulsed; but when a small division of troops was landed, with some ship's guns, and placed in a properly protected position, the place was not long in surrendering. On the 17th October, 1854, at Sebastopol, the final experiment of wooden ships against granite and earthen walls was made, never to be again repeated until ships should be clad with iron. It is needless to say that the allies did all that men and wooden ships could do, and that they failed utterly; all the damage that was done, after several hours' firing, was some slight injury to the guns and parapet of the crown of Fort Constantine, where the Russian guns and men were exposed. The small and swift gunboats and mortar boats of the English did all the real work of the navy during that war. Yet it is strange, though characteristic of English tenacity, that wood was used in their construction to the last; it was traditional to use wood; it had answered against spherical, chain, and bar-shot, why not against rockets and shells? One of the opening casualties of the war was the grounding of the English frigate *Tiger* on the coast of the Crimea, and while in that helpless position she was knocked to pieces by a small battery of field guns on a cliff. So much for guns ashore and guns afloat.

The siege of Sebastopol clearly proved the capability of well and solidly built forts to repel all the force which in that day of wooden ships could be brought against them by sea. But the introduction of enormous iron-clads, armed with guns the like of which were not dreamt of in Crimean times, has entirely changed the face of affairs. The encounter between the *Merrimac* and the *Cumberland* opened the eyes of the world to the fact that the vaunted four-deckers of modern navies were no better than "wooden boxes." There is no knowing what would have been our own fate, if the *Monitor* had not come up when it did, and stopped the career of the *Merrimac*. The question now is, "Can fortifications be constructed strong enough to resist the destructive missiles which can be hurled against them at short distances from the invulnerable frames of modern

iron-clads?" This question is, however, subordinate to the preliminary one, "Ought we to have fortified cities at all?"

The Franco-Prussian war has given rise to much discussion on this point. Would the French have come better out of the struggle if Paris had not been fortified? It has been contended by some that the belief, which at the outset universally possessed the French, that no enemy could possibly take Paris, and that the attempt would be fatal to whoever undertook it, was one of the causes why they rushed into the war so precipitately. They could not have forgotten the capture of their gay capital by the allies in 1814, and its occupation by them from 1815 to 1819; indeed, there were many living, M. Thiers among the number, who could remember it. But, then, Paris was not in those days what could be called a regularly fortified city; it was reserved for a "citizen king" to do what a military emperor had not done.

In 1841 the city was "girt about with walls" and bastions, after the most approved models of such things; and, when the work was done, we find the government officials using the following language in reference thereto: "So far from drawing on Paris the horrors of a siege, the forts will make the city so secure that it never will be besieged. A population of 1,300,000 can be provisioned for sixty days, but no enemy could live sixty days before Paris, *for he, and not the garrison, would be starved*. To besiege Paris alone he must bring 250,000 men. These could not be supported by stores; and to keep a long line of communications would require other armies. To live upon the surrounding country would entail a dispersion of forces. A sixty days' siege of Paris is therefore beyond the limits of likelihood." Such was the report of the select committee, of which M. Thiers was a member, appointed by the French government to examine into the subject of the fortification of Paris.

From this it is fair to infer that the fact of Paris being strongly fortified had much to do with the determination of the French government and people to go to war with Prussia. We advisedly say "the French people," for whatever they may *now* affirm to the contrary, they went in heart and soul for the war,

and we believe that the Parisians were the wildest of any for it, and the most under the delusion that, happen what might, *they* were safe in their Elysium, the only city, according to their notions, worth living in on the face of the globe. If, then, the fortifications of Paris are responsible to a great extent for the war, what did they do towards the progress of it? At the outset they enabled the government to withdraw a very large portion of the ordinary garrison from the city for service in the field, and notably the Imperial Guard, the *élite* of the French army, which subsequently surrendered at Sedan. If we can suppose that the campaign had ended favorably for the French, the Paris fortifications would have done good service so far. The other fortresses must also be taken into account. Metz held the Germans in check for weeks, while Strasburg, Toul, Phalzburg, Bitche, and the line of small forts constructed by Vauban along the eastern frontiers of France for Louis XIV., kept a large proportion of the invading army occupied in investing them, and thus reduced their active force in the field.

We consider the case of France to be one very much to the point. Of course, it is not our intention to inquire whether she was wise or foolish in going to war, nor how she might have conducted the war more effectively. We have nothing to do at present with strategy in the field; we have simply to look to the influence which the French fortified towns had upon the contest. As it was, they tasked the military skill and endurance of the Germans to the utmost; but they also prolonged the war, and consequently the sufferings of the French, and added enormously to the expense of it. There are those who contend that, after the surrender at Sedan, the French should have treated for peace; and that they would have done this, but for the fortresses in their rear.—Metz, Toul, and Paris, and the intrenched camp at Chalons. Those who argue thus forget that, at the time of the surrender of the Emperor, the war had not lasted a month, and France could not know, or be convinced with that short experience, that her army was utterly disorganized and in a state of miserable inefficiency; besides, there was the whole country to fall back upon, with Paris fortified for a central rallying point.

Now, if France had had as able generals as the Germans had, and such an army as she had been led to think she had at the outset, we believe that the invaders would have had much greater difficulty than they actually experienced in reaching Paris, and that they would have been foiled when they arrived there. In that case the value of her fortifications would have been too apparent to admit of controversy. We believe, moreover, that had the French army fallen back from the first upon Metz, and been able to keep communication open between that city and the country in its rear, the Prussians would not have got much further. This certainly might have been done if Bazaine had very rapidly retreated, and MacMahon had as rapidly advanced to join him. With such a formidable place as Metz on their flank or rear the invaders would not have pressed on to Paris till it was taken. Is not this decisive of the question as to the utility of very strongly fortified cities? The famous Italian quadrilateral preserved the Austrian dominions in Italy on several occasions. The fortifications at Mantua have time and again defied all the efforts of the French and the Italians to take them, and in 1859 it was not until the entire surrounding country had been wrested from the Austrians that these works could be effectually invested. The time and cost of taking them by a regular siege have always been important items in the calculations of the contending powers, and it would not be difficult to prove that they have more than once hastened negotiations. Nor were these famous ports the only obstacles to the liberation of Italy. The cities of Ferrara, Piacenza, and Commanchio have, down to recent times, been strongly fortified, and have, in consequence, exercised a fatal influence, when in the hands of foreigners, over the affairs of the Peninsula.*

* The Count de Walewski, when minister of foreign affairs under Napoleon III., in commenting on the treaty of Zurich, (1859) whereby Lombardy was ceded to Sardinia, makes the following remarks on the importance of these fortified cities: "L'Autriche, qui perd ce territoire, base principale de son influence en Italie, renonce en même temps par un protocole au droit de garnison dans les trois grandes places de Ferrare, Commanchio, et Piacenza, qu'elle occupait en vertu de traités, et ainsi est écartée une des causes dominantes de l'état de dépendance dans lequel la péninsule se trouvait à l'égard de cette puissance. Sa

If further proof of the military and political value of fortified cities be wanting we can point to the advantages which the possession of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badjaos gave to the French during the war in Spain from 1808 to 1813. It enabled them to keep their hold on the country and thwart all forward movements on the part of the allies; hence it was found necessary to lay regular siege to them. The fortress of San Sebastian, in the Pyrenees, delayed the progress of Wellington's army sixty days, and it cost him several thousand men, killed and wounded, to take it. After that, there being no strong places to resist him, the road to Paris was open to him.

Had the Potomac been properly protected, in 1815, by forts covering the principal points, as Fort Henry did Baltimore, this country would have been spared the burning of Washington by the British.* But Fort Henry beat off the attacking squadron, and saved Baltimore. A strong position, in the nature of a fortified place, sometimes answers the purpose as well as, if not better than, a regular fortress. Thus Jackson's cotton bales served for earthworks at New Orleans; Wellington's lines at Torres Vedras resisted the utmost efforts of Soult, Marmont, and Junot; and Lee's lines around Richmond kept Grant at bay for months, notwithstanding the immense superiority of the latter in numbers, equipment, supplies, and artillery.

When the French invaded Mexico, the people of Puebla filled those houses which were nearest to the enemy with earth from top to bottom, making them solid earth-banks, cased with

position cesse entièrement d'être agressive et prépondérante, et ne présente plus aucun caractère qui ne puisse se concilier parfaitement avec le libre développement des intérêts politiques de l'Italie."—*Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1858-9. p. xlviii.

* "Enfin," says Jomini, "les Anglais firent dans la même année, 1815, une entreprise qui peut être rangée parmi les plus extraordinaires; nous voulons parler de celle contra la capitale des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. On vit, au grand étonnement du monde, une poignée de 7,000 ou 8,000 Anglais, descendre au milieu d'un Etat de 10,000,000 d'âmes, pénétrer assez avant pour s'emparer de la capitale, et y détruire tous les établissemens publics; resultat dont on chercherait vainement un autre exemple dans l'histoire."—*Art de la Guerre*, vol. 2. p. 337.

brick and stone, and these improvised ramparts proved formidable obstacles to the enemy's progress; they resisted his fire as well as the Russian earthworks at Sebastopol did that of the allies. This idea of the Mexicans is not a bad one on an emergency; and the use of earth for ramparts has become common since Todleben's experiments in the Crimea. A large proportion of the fortifications at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, the principal English dock-yards, consists of earthworks; and the same may be said of other fortified stations along the English coast. England is now more in earnest than ever in providing against foreign attack, not merely by sea-coast defences, but by inland intrenched camps, and the strengthening of natural positions.

It is curious to note how public opinion has changed on the subject of coast defences in that country within a few years. Some thirty years ago the Duke of Wellington, who was then looked up to as an oracle, and as the incarnation of wisdom in all that related to military affairs, asserted, in an official report,[†] that, for the defence of the coast of England the chief reliance should be on the navy; that floating batteries should be used wherever practicable, instead of fortifications; and that it was useless to waste large sums of money upon formidable works. The duke had greater reliance upon the British navy than the nation had; and, indeed, it is surprising how he could have forgotten the fact that in 1798 an expedition of 25,000 French troops, under General Humbert, sailed from Brest and landed on the coast of Ireland, although there were three English squadrons on the look out for it; and Nelson wandered about the Mediterranean for months endeavoring to catch the French expedition to Egypt with Napoleon on board, but failed. It is not a little strange, too, that Commodore Perry, one of our most distinguished naval authorities, some twenty years ago, expressed his belief that naval means should be principally relied on for our defence against a foreign enemy, and enforced his opinions by the example of

[†] Cited in Barnard's *Sea Coast Fortification*, p. 12, where the author speaks of this system as having been one formerly in vogue in the United States, but since abandoned.

England. "Of all the coasts of Europe," said he, "that of Great Britain is the least provided with fortifications; and yet her soil has not been trodden by a successful enemy since the conquest, solely protecting her military and naval arsenals by perfect and well-garrisoned works. She depends mainly for the defence of her coast upon her navy and the warlike spirit of her yeomanry; and *the very absence of fortified works prevents a deceitful reliance upon such defences*, and keeps alive the more gallant and more certain dependence upon their own personal prowess."*

These certainly are not the prevailing sentiments of the English now. The rapidity with which masses of men, stores of all kinds, horses, artillery and baggage, can be moved by railway and transported by steamers, has entirely altered England's position as regards immunity from invasion. Fifty thousand men could be thrown upon her coast from France in less than two hours, supposing the British fleet to be drawn off to some other point than that where the landing was to be effected. And as for *personal* prowess, it is of small account in the face of mitrailleuses and iron-clad batteries. The British commissioners, appointed to consider the defences of the United Kingdom, in 1860, emphatically recognized this altered state of things, and stated that they could no longer rely upon being able to prevent the landing of a hostile force in the country. They came to the following conclusion: † "Having carefully weighed the foregoing considerations, we are led to the opinion that neither our fleet, our standing army, nor our volunteer forces, nor even the three combined, can be relied on as sufficient in themselves for the security of the kingdom against foreign invasion. We, therefore, proceed to consider that part of our instructions which directs our attention especially to fortifications. * * * We are thus led to the conclusion that by a judicious application of fortifications, the means would be afforded of utilizing, in the highest degree, both our fleet and the regular army, and the forces which

* Cited by Major Barnard, p. 13. † Ibid. pp. 14-21.

would be brought in aid of it; and, further, that without fortifications there is no mode of defence which can be proposed that would give the same amount of security to the country and at the same time be so economical both in money and troops." This opinion, as applied to the United States, is endorsed by Major Barnard.

It will be asked, "What need is there of fortified cities in the United States?" We presume that it will not be denied that some of our coast cities should be fortified, and strongly, too. We could ill afford to let New York, Boston, Baltimore, Norfolk, Wilmington, Pensacola, or Charleston, fall into an enemy's hands, to become a nucleus for other operations against us. We want them, not merely on account of their importance in other respects, but as bases of our own operations, and as proper sites for arsenals and dock-yards, magazines and storehouses; and they should not only hold materials enough for their own defence, but be able to supply our ships of war and privateers with all they need. The defence of great commercial and manufacturing centres, like New Orleans and Philadelphia, which are seated on rivers, should be equally attended to. It should be remembered that we may one day find ourselves involved in a war, not merely with one power, but with a coalition of powers, and be exposed to attack on all sides along our coast. Hence San Francisco and the chief ports on our western shores and on the Texan coast claim attention.

New York and Brooklyn are our most important sea-board cities, and they are the most exposed to damage from an enemy. On account of the narrowness of the entrance into New York harbor, either through the Narrows or Long Island Sound, the port could be easily blockaded by a foe strong enough to keep the sea against us. But if, in addition to this, a hostile army were landed on Long Island, with the intention of advancing to Brooklyn Heights to bombard the city, it is evident that the enemy's difficulties would be greatly augmented were he to find well-constructed earthworks in front of him, with redoubts commanding every approach. And this consideration was present to the minds of the Boards of Engineer Officers, referred

to by Lieut. Morton,* when they recommended the construction of a line of permanent redoubts, extending from Fort Hamilton along the ridge to Willet's Point, though Lieut. Morton himself advocates a line of fortification ending much nearer Brooklyn. It is fair to suppose that, if it were known that the city could be attacked only at great risk, an enemy would pause before venturing upon such an attack, and he would probably imitate the conduct of Sir Charles Napier at Cronstadt, and abandon the attempt.

As a rule, all places fitted by nature to form bases of operations for sea warfare by being located where they may protect our own commerce, and from which that of the enemy may be annoyed, should be fortified; so, also, should those which are convenient places of retreat for repairs or safety, for government ships and for privateers, or for merchantmen pursued by the enemy; that can be made safe and convenient depôts for artillery, ammunition and stores: and places that may, in addition to some or all of the above properties, be made centres of defence, from land as well as sea attacks, of territories isolated or distant from the United States,—as, for instance, in the West Indies or the Pacific. And then, if fortified at all, they should be fortified thoroughly, and kept well provisioned and stored, so that on the sudden breaking out of a war, they may be in a fit state for use. One item of experience gained from our great civil war was, that military operations on a grand scale could be successfully carried on only on the basis of large cities. From New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Chicago, came the vast supplies of artillery, ammunition, equipments, provisions, tents, medicines and stores which enabled the North to put and maintain an overpowering force in the field. And it was the absence of large cities which rendered it so difficult for the South to concentrate its resources. Could General Lee have obtained possession of Pittsburg or Philadelphia,—as at one time there seemed to be a prospect of his doing,—the struggle might have been considerably prolonged, if not even made to terminate in a compromise. Had

* *Letter to Hon. John B. Floyd*, p. 68.

he won the battle of Gettysburg, not only Pittsburg and Philadelphia, but Washington, Baltimore and New York would have been at his mercy, because they were not fortified, and could not have been placed in a state of defence in time to stay his progress. Their ransom would have re-imbursed the South the expenses of the war.

It will, perhaps, be contended that such a war will never again occur, because the causes which produced it have been removed. But no one can really foretell the future of this vast empire; and when we consider the varied nature of its elements, he must be a bold man who would say there are no elements of strife among them. Putting aside the hopes entertained by philanthropists, and the vainglorious aspirations of those who are troubled with "geography on the brain," it is evident that there are possibilities in the future which it would be unwise to ignore.

We have seen that sectional interests have had sufficient influence to cause a disruption of the Union. Pro-slavery and anti-slavery theories involved the nation in a frightful civil war. These issues are dead. Slavery can never again become a bone of contention; but free trade and protection may come in collision; the interests of one section may imperiously demand the former, while those of the other may equally demand the other. We can even imagine a Communist war, against property, and a general uprising of Labor against Capital, as within the bounds of possibility; nay, such a calamity as a religious war is on the cards; it broke out fiercely in England and Scotland at the very period when the greatest amount of civil liberty prevailed, viz, in the seventeenth century; and history furnishes abundant proof of the fact that of all wars, religious wars are the most cruel.

There is yet another consideration. We live in an age of excitement, of great enterprises, and of revolutions. The Continent of Europe has been in a chronic state of convulsion ever since the breaking out of the French Revolution of 1789. Wars have broken out there at almost a moment's notice, and may do so again at any time, involving in them the principal nations of the world. Hitherto we have avoided "entangling

alliances." and it is to be hoped we shall always be able to do so: but it may not be possible, on some future occasion, for us to remain neuter, and war will then be forced upon us. And lastly, in enumerating the causes which may possibly render the possession of fortified cities advantageous, and even of vital importance to us, there is the contingency of seeking to change our present form of government by force. However improbable this may seem now, let no one deem it too chimerical to be entertained. Why should it be? It was attempted ten years ago on a grand scale.

National luxury is the direct road to national ruin. It is to be feared that the taste for it is becoming inordinate among us, and so exacting is it that men holding responsible public offices, and through whose hands, consequently, vast sums of money frequently pass, are tempted to misappropriate those funds in order to gratify it. Such cases are too painfully common and notorious to be disputed, and it is an evil which threatens to engulf us in ruin if not speedily checked.

It will, perhaps, be objected that such fortifications as we have suggested for this country would involve an enormous expenditure of the public money, which the nation can ill afford at present, and that it would open the door to the most monstrous jobbing and frauds. These are undoubtedly serious considerations, but they are not insuperable objections. In the first place, there is no necessity for commencing all the proposed fortifications at once. The first object is to procure the recognition by the people of the advisability of constructing them: the next is to devise such a system of them as shall answer all the requirements of the country for years to come, so far as can be humanly foreseen. By "a system" we mean that the position and character of each fortified place should be determined with reference to the position and character of the others, as well as to the immediate necessities of each locality; such a system, for instance, as that devised by Vauban for the protection of the eastern frontier of France, or as that of the Italian quadrilateral, where each separate fortress is not only strong in itself but contributes towards the defence of the others. Besides the defence of our principal harbors, there are

other objects to be considered, such as the securing of the great arteries of internal traffic from hostile hands, *from whatever quarter they may come*. There are the Northern Lakes, with their fast rising cities, Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland, Sandusky, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and others; there is the Valley of the Mississippi, and that of the Missouri; the lines of the Rio Grande, the Colorado and the Columbia, which may one day require something stronger than Indian forts to guarantee their possession to the general government and the nation. Then there are mountain passes through which the stream of traffic pours, which could be easily obstructed by an enemy, and especially a domestic one,—and it is to this source of danger we more particularly allude, as, at present, the invasion of our territories by a foreign enemy seems to be highly improbable and chimerical; though it may not be so fifty years hence, especially if there should be dissensions among ourselves. The possession of these passes by the national government might be of supreme importance at such a time, and money invested in fortifying them now would then be found to have been judiciously employed. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that fortifications serve to deter an enemy from attacking as well as to repel his attack, and many an incipient rebellion or war has died out in the hearts of its projectors from their knowing their incapability of gaining possession of them. Let us suppose that the federal government in 1860 had had in its hands a chain of well fortified places along the Potomac and the Mississippi, would not the seceding states have paused before resorting to war? And would such not be the case if secession were to raise its head at some future time in other quarters?

But to return to the subject of expense. We have already observed that there is no immediate necessity for incurring any very serious expenditure, and, indeed, really strong and scientifically constructed fortifications are not to be built in a day. Those at Portsmouth, Brest, Cherbourg, Cronstadt, Toulon, Sebastopol, Chatham and other places in Europe, were years in process of construction, and, indeed, are still being continually increased. England, France and Russia, have spent millions upon their fortresses, and they consider the money well laid

out. England has invested millions upon Gibraltar alone. Ever since she took it (in 1704) she has from time to time added to its strength, and of late years the fortifications have been strengthened at every vulnerable point. No labor has been spared to make it impregnable, although the place is of no vital importance to England, and is only useful to her as a naval station; but in the days of sailing ships of war she fancied that it gave her the command of the entrance into the Mediterranean, although the strait is thirteen miles wide at the narrowest point; and having once got this idea into her head she obstinately retains it. Iron-clads could now pass within range of the guns of Gibraltar with impunity; but this is a digression, and we cite the case of Gibraltar, not to show the advantages of having a fortress in that locality, but to illustrate the unceasing attention and the lavish expenditure which foreign nations bestow on their fortified cities. Malta is another case in point, and one which we should do well to imitate if we should acquire an island in the West Indies or in the Pacific. After all, expense is comparative, and what is considered extravagant at one time is economical at another. When General Jackson was President, a bill was brought before Congress for fortifying certain points on the coast, and a vote of \$3,000,000 was asked for but refused, and one of the reasons for refusing it was that it was not safe to trust the government with so large a sum of money to be expended on such fortifications as it might think necessary.* In these days people think nothing of asking for such a sum for the ornamentation of a park, or the building of a city hall, or additional water-works.

There is another aspect of the question which claims some notice,—and that is the moral. The late celebrated English statesman, Richard Cobden, described garrison towns as moral plague-spots, contaminating to all who resided in them, or had dealings with them. He said soldiers' barracks depreciated the value of all the property in their neighborhood, and that no father of a family or head of a house could trust one of his female relatives or domestics out of doors without a male escort,

* See Speech of Mr. Wise, on the Fortification Bill, 23d January, 1836.

where they were. There can be little doubt that the atmosphere of a fortified city is not favorable to morality; not that soldiers are naturally worse than other men, but they have much idle time on their hands, and are tempted to resort to irregular pursuits to while it away. The congregating of a large number of individuals in a confined space is at all times attended with more or less indulgence in excesses, such as drinking and gambling, quarrelling and swearing, and this is not peculiar to soldiers. But much of it may be repressed by strict discipline, and by providing the men with occupation, instruction and amusement. War is an evil anyhow; but it is one that exists and must be provided against; and it is useless to condemn barracks and fortified cities while there is a necessity for soldiers and for self-defence. For this reason we shall not pursue this branch of the subject further; but as regards its bearing upon the value of property there is something more to be said.

Those who have visited the fortified cities of the old world will have noticed that, as a rule, they are inferior in splendor and in wealth to other cities. The reason of this is evident. The bulk of the population consists of naval or military men and their families, and of the class of tradesmen and dealers who are required to supply their wants. But naval and military men are, in general, persons of moderate income, and are therefore unable to live in fine houses or to indulge in luxuries; hence there are but few mansions or dashing equipages to be seen where they congregate, and a universal air of mediocrity pervades the place. As soon as any one of its inhabitants makes money enough to withdraw from it he does so, and builds himself a country-house or goes to live in the metropolis or some fashionable city. In old cities like Portsmouth and Plymouth, Brest and Cherbourg, there are families which have resided there for generations, and have been, from father to son, connected with the army or the navy, hereditary warriors, who take to fighting as naturally as ducks do to swimming; and they have impressed their own character on the place. We suppose that it will, in time, be pretty much the same here when we have cities specially set apart for military or naval purposes,

and it will therefore be wise to bear in mind this tendency to stagnation in selecting the cities to be fortified. It would be cruel, as well as unwise, to convert a prosperous commercial town into a mediocre military or naval one, when there is no imperative reason for doing so, or when there are decaying towns to be had for the purpose, or new ones can be founded with the express object of fortifying them.

The recent siege of Paris has established the practicability of provisioning a large city for several months. When the Prussians first invested the French capital it was confidently predicted that it would be impossible to feed a population of nearly two millions longer than a few days. Yet this was done during more than five months. And Paris was not regularly provisioned for a siege; the people were not fed upon rations of biscuit and salted meat, with water for their beverage; they had fresh meat the greater part of the time, though in small quantities, and there were vegetables and tolerably good bread; the quantity of wine in store was so abundant that there was no lack of it even at the last, but man cannot live on wine alone. With this exception, the city might have been better stored with hay and oats for cattle and with flour, so that the defence might have been further prolonged had the necessary supplies been laid in at the outset. The example of Paris is remarkable, but that of Leyden is still more so. The first siege of that heroic city lasted from the 31st of October, 1573, to the 21st of March, 1574, and was then raised because the besiegers were then called away to another quarter. "By an extraordinary and culpable carelessness," says Motley,† "the citizens, neglecting the advice of the Prince, had not taken advantage of the breathing time thus afforded them to victual the city and strengthen the garrison. On the 26th of May, 1574, Valdez and his Spanish troops re-appeared before the place and renewed the siege. It lasted until the 4th October, 131 days, when the inhabitants, literally sinking from starvation, were rescued from death and the Spaniards by the Zealand fleet. They had not laid in a stock of provisions for the siege, and

* *Dutch Republic*, vol. ii., p. 551.

therefore were soon obliged to put themselves on an allowance. Half a pound of meat and half a pound of bread were allotted to a full grown man, and to the rest a due proportion. This was done at the end of June. By the 12th August, all their bread was gone, and they had but a slender provision of malt-cake for a substitute: this they thought would last them four days, by which time they hoped to be relieved by Prince William of Prague. They were disappointed, however. Soon their provisions were consumed and they were reduced to the depth of agony.

The horrors of this memorable siege surpassed those of Paris, but the heroic Dutch had their reward in having foiled their hateful foes and thereby contributed to the establishment of their Republic. Unfortunately for the French their sufferings resulted, first, in the humiliation of their country, and secondly, in that of themselves. But for the fortified cities of Holland the Spaniards would have entirely subdued that country; it is to the heroism of Leyden and Antwerp that she owed her independence in the 16th century. A still more brilliant exemplification of the utility of fortified cities to the world is the siege of Vienna by the Turks, in 1683. The entire force of the Turkish Empire was sent forth, under the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, to subjugate Hungary and Austria; and could this have been accomplished the Turks would have had the best part of Europe at their feet. They overpowered all resistance up to to the gates of Vienna, but these were resolutely shut against them, and their progress was stayed for two months by the courageous city, during which time armies were raised for its relief, and the Polish hero, Sobieski, and the confederated princes of Germany compelled the Turks to retreat with immense loss. Gambetta seems to have hoped that Paris would have played the same part that Vienna did, and given time for some Sobieski to come to its relief. But alas! there are no Sobieskis now-a-days.

The sieges of fortified cities have inspired some of the most interesting episodes of history, besides furnishing inexhaustible themes for poetry and romance. The earliest, and perhaps the noblest poetry in existence relates to a siege of

ten years' duration; and though "the tale of Troy divine" may be purely the offspring of the imagination, its heroes and its incidents are, as it were, vivid realities to us. To all intents and purposes Agamemnon, Achilles, Ulysses, Ajax, Hector, Priam, and "the white armed" Helen, have lived for us, as have all the others.

We have before us a list of eighty memorable sieges, selected out of the hundreds which are recorded, because they are identified with "the stirring memory of a thousand years." From the siege of Troy to the siege of Paris there are to be found in them the grandest instances of heroism and human endurance, as well as the most terrible illustrations of "man's inhumanity to man." They form in themselves a department of history, and we are surprised that no master hand has, as yet, treated it as it is capable of being treated. Let us marshal them in chronological order. There are the numerous visitations of the Assyrians and Egyptians upon the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, which ended in the capture and destruction of the cities of Samaria and Jerusalem by the Assyrian king, Shalmanasar, and the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar. The details of these sieges are not given in the Scriptures, but we may form some idea of the horrors of them from the desolation in which those cities, and the entire land, were left for nearly a century, the majority of the inhabitants having been carried into captivity in a far distant country, from which scarcely any of them returned.

Then the conquerors were themselves visited with destruction. For two years the Assyrian monarch, Sardanapalus, was besieged in Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians; then he made a funeral pyre whereon he sacrificed himself, his women and his treasure, and his great city was destroyed. Babylon's turn came next. It stood a long siege by Cyrus, and was ultimately taken by diverting the course of the Euphrates, which ran through it; then the impious Belshazzar understood the handwriting on the wall. One by one the great fortified cities of antiquity fell beneath the conqueror's sword, their massive strength and fabulous resources proving unavailing against famine and perseverance. Thebes, in Upper Egypt, with its

hundred gates, was despoiled by Cambyses the Persian. Rome was several times taken, plundered and ruined. Its first memorable siege was that by the Etrurian prince, Porsena, during which were performed the heroic exploits of Horatius Cocles, Spurius Lartius, Titus Herminius, and Mucius Sœvola, and of Cloelia and her handmaidens. Another equally memorable siege was that by the Brienn of the Senonian Gauls, when the citizens fled, leaving the senators seated immovably in the forum, so that the Gauls mistook them for statues. With this siege is connected the heroism of Marcus Manlius, the saving of the capitol by the cackling of the geese, and the casting of the sword of Brennus into the scale; *Væ victis!* also dates from this moment.

Rome being the centre of empire and the storehouse of the wealth of the world, was an object of cupidity to the barbarians; but it is remarkable that she relied but little on her fortifications for protection, and when she did she generally came off the worse for having done so. She would have succumbed to the terrible Attila without a blow had not "the scourge of God" been prevailed upon by the venerable Leo, the pontiff, to abandon his designs. To Alarie, the Visigoth, she surrendered at discretion, and would have been spared had it not been for the perfidy of her emperor Honorius; but, as it was, she was given to pillage for six days. She suffered from capture and recapture by Belisarius, Vitiges, and Totila, and frequently by the German emperors; but perhaps she never fared worse than she did after the storming of her walls by the Constable Bourbon, her resistance having excited the assailants to fury, aggravated by the death of the constable. Since that terrible experience she has not offered any serious opposition to the entrance of hostile troops within her gates, the most obstinate being that offered by the republican triumvirate, Garibaldi, Saffi, and Mazzini, to the French troops in 1849.

Athens has had her share of misfortunes from the day of Xerxes, when she was deserted, to those of Pausanias and the Peloponnesian war. Romans, Normans, Venetians, Turks, have each in their turns taken possession of her, and the same

was the case with her sister city, Corinth, which in spite of her

"Tower-capped Acropolis,
Which seems the very clouds to kiss"—

has never offered any prolonged resistance to an enemy—at all events not such as might have been expected from her strong natural position. Lucius Mummius made short work of her; so did the Turkish vizier, Kireprili, when old Minotti fired the powder magazine, and blew friend and foe alike into the air. Samos and Syracuse offered far more valiant opposition, giving occasion for the exercise of all the abilities of Pericles, Alcibiades, Nicias and Gylippus, and, at a subsequent period, to those of Archimedes and Marcellus.

Tyre and Sidon recall memories of Alexander the Great; so does Persepolis, whose fate was decreed in a moment of intoxication, when

"This led the way, in haste to destroy,
And like another Helen, fired another Troy,"

and in one night the proudest city of Persia was laid in ruins by the drunken conquerors, never to rise again from her ashes. Rhodes and Demetrius Paliorcetes, Memphis and Antiochus, Epiplanes, Saguntum and Hannibal, Numantia and Scipio Omilianus, Alesia, and Julius Caesar and Vercingetorix, Byzantium and Pescennius Niger, Palmyra and Aurelian, Zenobia and Longinus, Alexandria and Diocletian and Achilleus, and Nisibis and Saper, will also recur to the scholar in connection with the sieges of antiquity.

We have reserved the two greatest of them, Carthage and Jerusalem, to the last, for it may be assumed that there are few persons, except the extremely ignorant, who have not heard of them. In the course of these two terrible sieges every resource of attack and defence known to the engineers of that age was exhausted; all the motives which most strongly animate men were called into play: religious fanaticism, patriotism, fierce antipathy of race, ambition, greed, lust, courage, frenzy, despair, enabled both Jews and Carthaginians to hold out until human nature, exhausted by famine and fatigue, could bear up no longer. For seven

months Jerusalem held out against all the skill of Titus, and Carthage for three years defied Scipio. History records nothing so terrible as the expiring struggles of these two great cities, with which expired also the nationality of the two peoples.

Did they prolong resistance beyond the point at which it ceases to be justifiable? If they did, it was the strength of their fortifications which seconded and confirmed their fury. And here again arises that most important question, do fortified cities tend to promote peace or war? Do they make the possessors of them bellicose from a feeling of strength? Do they provoke the cupidity of others on account of their value as depots of war materials? We are inclined to think that they are great promoters of war, in whatever light they may be considered. The history of the world shows that in many cases no sacrifice of blood and treasure has been thought too great to get possession of them, or to prevent their being taken. If this was the case in ancient times it has been quite as much so in modern times. What a list of sieges there is! Scarcely a city of importance in the old world has escaped being besieged at one time or other.

Constantinople has stood four great sieges, two of them (by the Saracens) successfully, the fleet of the invaders having, it is said, been destroyed by Greek fire. The enormous strength of its fortifications preserved the Byzantine empire from annihilation for centuries, and the case of this city is, perhaps, the best illustration to be met with of the value of fortifications. It yielded, however, to the assault of the Latin Crusaders after "an hour with blind old Dandolo," and to the perseverance of the Turks, two centuries and a half later. Jerusalem was "delivered" by Godfrey de Bonillon and his Christian knights, whose glories have been sung by Ariosto; defended against the Saracens by Count Raymond, Guy de Lusignan, Richard Cœur de Lion, and others of like fame; and lost ultimately, along with Acre, Tyre, and Antioch, in spite of the heroism of Edward the First of England, and Frederic the Second, and the Knights Templars.

Pavia withstood Charlemagne eight months. Bari held

out three years against the Saracens. Rhodes, Malta, and Candia achieved immortal honor by their resistance to the Turks, at that time the most formidable military power in the world. Space fails us to dwell upon Paris, Counts Robert and Eudes, and the Normans; Palermo and the sea rovers; Milan and Frederic Barbarossa; Messina. Peter of Aragon, John of Procida, and Charles of Naples; Stirling, Edward I., Wallace and Bruce; Calais, Edward III., Queen Philippa, Eustace de St. Pierre and Eustace de Ribeaumont; Orleans, Salisbury, Suffolk, Fastolfe, Talbot, Joan of Arc and Charles VII.; Belgrade, Hunniades, Mahomet II., and Prince Eugene; Beauvais, Charles the Bold, Louis II., Philip de Comines, and Jeanne La Hachette; Granada, Ferdinand and Isabella, Boabdil el Chico and Ayxa la Horra; Copenhagen, Christian III. and Gustavus Vasa; La Rochelle, Condé and Richelieu; Antwerp, Prince Maurice and the Duke of Parma; Bristol, Prince Rupert, Cromwell and Fairfax; Limerick, William III., Sarsfeld and Ginckel; Quebec, Wolfe and Montcalm; Ismail, Patemkin, Catherine II. and Suwarof; Nammer, William III. and Marshal Villeroi; Toulon and the first Napoleon; Seringapatam and Tippoo Saib; Genoa, Massena and Melas; Saragossa, Palafox, Bessieres and Martier; Ciudad Rodrigo, Ney and Wellington; Badajos, Pampeluna, San Sebastian; Missolonghi, Byron, Capo d'Istrias and Ibrahim Pasha; Sebastopol, Kars, Richmond, Vicksburg, Charleston, Strasburg, Metz. Paris. The mere names call up nearly the entire range of history, poetry and romance.

ART. VI.—*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, Washington, December, 1871.

THE most eminent statesmen of all nations have held as a maxim that there is no department of government which it is more important to have well managed than that of its finances. It is because we entertain the same opinion that we devote all the space we have now left in our present number to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury; although the

reports of all the other departments possess unusual interest, and we regard the President's Message, which they accompany, as in every respect the most satisfactory, as well as the most important civil document that General Grant has yet issued. Our readers know that whenever we have regarded any report or message in a different light we have not hesitated to say so, and that our criticisms have not been influenced in the slightest degree by the politics or partisan relations of its author.

Nor have the reports of Mr. Boutwell formed an exception in this respect. But we are not of those who think that because they have criticised a public functionary once they must, in order to be consistent, continue to criticise him whenever an opportunity presents itself. It is our pride to be fair and just, and with the views which our readers know we entertain as to the chief, real sources of national wealth and prosperity, we should be wanting both in fairness and justice, did we not admit that the report now before us is a sound and statesman-like exposition of the best interests of the country. It is true that there are those whose opinions we highly respect who condemn one or two of the Secretary's propositions. We are as much opposed as any one to laying a heavier burden on the people than the public interests require; nor are any more in favor of lightening that burden, as much, and as soon, as may be consistent with the same paramount interests.

But it should be remembered that what often seems a burden is really not such. Were it otherwise it would follow that those nations which have to pay the largest taxes are the most oppressed, and the most likely to become poor in a certain time, instead of growing rich. But the merest tryo in political economy, or the science of government, knows that the reverse is the fact. Indeed, it requires no scientific knowledge, but simply the faculty of comparing the financial systems of the great nations of the world with each other, to see that it is those who are most heavily taxed that enjoy most liberty, and are most enterprising and most prosperous.

At first sight this would seem anomalous, if not altogether incredible, to many. We are quite aware that there are those who

would laugh at it as absurd; but let such pause for a moment. We are bound to bear in mind that it is not the province of the financial minister of a great nation to show, as he proceeds in his discussions, that his views are based on the experience of the most eminent statesmen and the deductions of the most learned political economists. But it is the duty of the critic to see how far he can claim such a basis for his views. Accordingly we glance at the latest statistics (1868) within our reach, and we find that the taxes levied by the principal nations of Europe compare with each other as follows: First, the taxation in England *per capita*, is equal to about \$13 of our money; that in France \$6, Prussia \$3, Austria \$2 75, Russia \$2 25. Thus before the late Franco-Prussian war the people of England were taxed more than twice as heavily as the French, more than four times as heavily as the Prussians, and more than five times as heavily as the Russians. We can assure our readers that these are no random statements. The ratio here given has been claimed, and acknowledged, in the British parliament by men like Cobden, Hume, Russell and Gladstone to approximate very closely to the truth.

And it is only those who do not investigate or reflect that wonder at the comparative results, for there is nothing wonderful or strange in them; they deviate very little, if anything, from what the statesman and the political economist expect. Montesquieu tells us that the taxation of despotic governments is very light; and asks, if it were otherwise, who would take the trouble to cultivate the lands?*. After discussing the subject at some length he proceeds to examine the relation which a high taxation bears to liberty, and comes to the conclusion that just in proportion as people enjoy the blessings of liberty will they bear to be heavily taxed, and *vice versa*. "It has always been so," he says, "and ever will be, for it is a rule drawn from nature, who never varies."† The philosopher adds that

* *De l'Esprit des Loix*, liv. xlii., c. 10.

† Règle générale: on peut lever des tributs plus forts, à proportion de la liberté des sujets; et l'on est forcé de les modérer à mesure que la servitude augmente. Cela a toujours été, et cela sera toujours. C'est une règle tirée de

in most republics the citizens have not only the will but also the power to pay a high tax, because in reality it is not to any individual, or set of individuals, they pay, but to themselves.*

The same view is taken of the subject by De Toqueville. Speaking of the effect of high taxation in this country, he discusses it as follows: "As the great majority of those who create the laws have no taxable property, all the money which is spent for the community appears to be spent for *their advantage* at no cost of their own; and those who have some little property readily find means of so regulating the taxes that they *weigh upon the wealthy and profit the poor*."†

The views of the best English thinkers differ in nothing essential from those just quoted. Referring to precisely the sort of taxation which Mr. Boutwell proposes to continue for some time, Hume proceeds; "The best taxes are such as are levied upon consumptions, especially those of luxury; because such taxes are least felt by the people. They seem in some measure voluntary, since a man may choose how far he will use the commodity taxed. They are paid gradually and insensibly; they naturally produce sobriety and frugality, if judiciously imposed."‡ On no subject has Locke written more wisely or more forcibly than on taxation. "Government," says the philosopher, "cannot be supported without great charge; and 'tis fit every one who enjoys his share of protection should pay out of his estate his proportion for the maintenance of it."§ Nor is there any principle which Dr. Adam Smith maintains more strongly. "The subjects," he says, "of every state ought to contribute towards the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state."**

la nature, qui ne varie point: on la trouve par tous les pays, en Angleterre, en Holland, et dans tous les états où la liberté va se dégradant, jusqu'en Turquie.—*De l'Esprit des Loix*, lib. xiii., c. 12.

* *Ib.*, c. xiii.

† *Democracy in America*, vol. ii., p. 272.

‡ *Hume's Essays*, vol. i., Ess. 8.

§ *Essay on Government*, c. xi., § 140.

** *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii., p. 2.

Now, it is because the propositions and recommendations of Mr. Boutwell, in the report before us, are in strict accordance with these views, that instead of condemning his management of the national finances, we cannot but regard it as wise and judicious, and we think there are few of our readers who, on a little reflection, will not regard it in the same light. Thus, let us see what is wrong in the Secretary's idea of taxation:

"In the suggestions I have the honor to make in reference to the reduction of taxes I keep in view two important facts; first, that the ability of the nation to pay at least fifty millions annually of the principal of the public debt shall not be impaired; and, secondly, in the change of the revenue system no violence shall be done to the business interests of the country. While I do not undertake to state precisely the causes which have contributed to the public prosperity, there is no substantial reason for questioning the truth of the statement that the last five years have been the most prosperous in the history of the country—years without example in our own affairs, and without parallel in the affairs of any other government. It is practicable to dispense with all revenue from internal sources except that derived from stamps, spirits, tobacco and malt liquors. These sources should furnish for the year 1872-3 a revenue of about one hundred and ten millions of dollars, making a reduction of taxes of sixteen millions of dollars. The revenue from customs under existing laws, and from lands and miscellaneous sources, would amount to about two hundred and thirty-three millions more, making a total revenue for that year of \$343,000,000. The expenses of the government, not including the amount payable on account of the sinking fund, are estimated at \$273,025,773. If to this sum be added \$50,000,000 for payments on account of the public debt, including the amount due on the sinking fund, there remains a balance of about \$20,000,000 within which reductions may be made in the revenue from customs. This amount, added to the reduction proposed under the Internal Revenue laws, gives a total reduction of \$36,000,000. In this view I respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress the reduction of the duties on salt to the extent of fifty per cent; the duty on bituminous coal to fifty cents per ton; the reduction of the duty on raw hides and skins, and the removal of all duties from a large class of articles produced in other countries which enter into the arts and manufactures of this country, and which are not produced in the United States, and the revenue from which is inconsiderable. Such a list, with the revenue derived from each article, is in course of preparation and will be submitted to Congress. The removal of duties from a large class of articles used in manufactures, and the reduction of the duties upon coal furnish

an opportunity for a moderate decrease of the rates of duties upon those products whose cost will be diminished by these changes."

This we hold to be sound reasoning. There are, indeed, views expressed in it which are not "popular," because the populace can see only what is near and tangible. Those who must have others to think for them, and are not very choice in their selection of thinkers, cannot regard money paid in taxes in any better light than as so much lost.

The same class find it extremely difficult to see anything but evil in the increased expenditures of government. They forget that, for the same reason, that each citizen or subject pays a tax proportionate to the amount of liberty he enjoys the expenditures of a representative government increase in proportion as the nation makes progress in wealth and civilization; hence they are perfectly consistent in comparing the expenditures of the present year with that of five or ten years ago, and judging one by the other—a species of logic which is nearly the same as that of the matron who thinks that because a certain number of yards made a dress for her child several years since, the same amount should be sufficient now, when the child has become a full grown adult.

Every student of English history is aware, that just in proportion as England has made progress in wealth, civilization and intelligence have her national expenditures increased. It is admitted by her leading public men that she has made little or no progress during the last decade, and accordingly we find her expenditures very nearly the same from year to year.

None deny that during the last five years this nation has made remarkable progress in prosperity. Then could we expect that our expenditures would continue the same as they were before this progress was made? "When a people" says De Toqueville "begin to reflect on their situation, they discover a multitude of wants which they had not before been conscious of, and to satisfy these exigencies, recourse must be had to the coffers of the State. Hence it happens that the public charges increase in proportion to the civilization of the country, and imports are augmented as knowledge becomes more diffused."*

* *Democracy in America*, vol. II, p. 275.

So much, then, for the reason and justice of blaming or praising the financial minister of a great nation according as he is favorable or averse to a certain amount of taxation, and according as the public expenditures happen to increase or diminish under his management. But let us regard the question for a moment in another light. It is an axiom among political economists that "oppressive taxation is a monster, which, after devouring every other thing devours itself at last." Now, if we test Mr. Boutwell's system by this, what conclusion must we arrive at? The best reply is a fact or two. Thus, the public debt was reduced over ninety-four millions during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1871, and the reduction since March, 1869, has amounted to two hundred and twenty-seven millions. Is there anything monster-like in this? The taxation which "devours" so enormous a debt at such a ratio, while it is acknowledged by all that the national prosperity is increasing more and more, must be a harmless monster after all. In short, when it is remembered that during the administration of Mr. Boutwell, the annual interest on the debt has been reduced more than sixteen millions and a half (\$16,741,436,) it must be admitted that, instead of deserving censure, there is no nation whose financial minister can boast of having accomplished such brilliant results under similar circumstances.

In our opinion it is perfectly consistent with all this that the Secretary should recommend the granting of subsidies for the restoration of our commerce; indeed, had he not done so, we should have regarded him as having neglected, or at least failed to comprehend, an essential part of his duty. The whole important subject is so ably discussed in the report before us that we make no apology for quoting at such length, even from a document which has already appeared in all the leading newspapers:

"Returns for the fiscal years 1870 and '71 show that the ocean commerce of the United States is passing rapidly into the hands of foreign merchants and shipbuilders. In the year 1860 nearly seventy-one per cent. of the foreign commerce of the country was on American ships. In 1864 it had fallen to forty-six per cent., in 1868 to forty-four per cent., and in 1871 it is reported at less than thirty-eight per cent. The loss of the shipping of the United States is due, chiefly, to two causes—first,

the destruction of American vessels by rebel cruisers during the war; and, secondly, the substitution of iron steamships for the transportation of freight and passengers upon the ocean in place of sailing vessels and steamships built of wood.

"When the war opened English builders of steamships had acquired considerable proficiency, and since that period the art has been carried to higher perfection in Great Britain than in any other part of the world. It is stated that the superiority of British machinery and knowledge of the business by British mechanics give an advantage over American shipbuilders equal at least to ten per cent. upon the cost of construction. They possess additional advantages in the cost of labor, the cost of iron, coal, and other materials, and in the rate of interest upon the capital employed, equal in all to about twenty per cent. more, so that the difference in favor of British shipbuilders is at least thirty per cent. In considering the means for the restoration of our ocean commerce two facts must be accepted—first, that it is useless to attempt to revive it with wooden ships; and, secondly, that iron ships moved by sails cannot compete with iron ships propelled by steam. Hence the only practical questions for consideration are these:—Can the construction of iron steamships be established in this country, and if so, by what means?

"The trans-ocean commerce of the United States would employ about 6,000,000 tons of shipping if each vessel made but one round voyage in a year. The value of our exports and imports has already reached the sum of nearly eleven hundred millions of dollars, and during the present decade it will exceed fifteen hundred millions of dollars annually. The annual returns for freight and passengers are about one hundred millions of dollars.

"The history of the loss of our commerce, as shown in the statistics already given, renders it *certain that without some efficient action on the part of the government the entire foreign trade of the country will soon pass into the hands of our rivals*. The monopoly of the trade between the United States and Europe by foreign merchants and shipbuilders carries with it the monopoly of shipbuilding for the entire world; and as a consequence of the Atlantic trade, the trade of the Pacific and the seas adjacent thereto will be carried on in English built steamers. An alteration of the law by which foreign built vessels may be admitted to American registry, will furnish no adequate relief. On the contrary the change would stimulate shipbuilding in England. The prospect of establishing it on this continent *would diminish in proportion to the prosperity of the business in the shipyards of our rivals*.

"In view of the facts of our extensive coasts on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and our position with reference to Europe and Asia, the country ought not to be satisfied with any policy which does not look to the establishment and continuance of shipbuilding in the United States,

the encouragement of our own seamen and merchants, and the control of so much, at least, of the commerce of the world as is desired for the export of our own products. The importation of articles required for domestic consumption, the removal of duties upon foreign articles used in the construction of iron steamships, or the allowance of a drawback equal to the amount of duties paid, will not, in the existing condition of things, secure the re-establishment of the business; but were it otherwise, the removal of duties or the allowance of drawbacks raises practical questions of great difficulty, while any concession by an indirect process is likely, in the end, to prove unnecessarily expensive to the country.

"Several of the existing lines of European steamers were established by the aid of government subsidies. They are still encouraged by the same means, and *it is unreasonable to expect that our merchants and shipbuilders can successfully compete with this formidable combination unless they are supported by the power of their own government.*

"After careful consideration of the whole subject I am prepared to advise the passage of a law guaranteeing to persons who may employ in the foreign trade American built first-class iron steamships of not less than two thousand tons burden each, an annual payment for the period of five years, of the sum of thirteen dollars per ton. The subsidy should be proportionately less to vessels of lower classification. In making this recommendation I do not assume that there is no other practical method of restoring our commerce, but I present it as the method which appears to me to be *the most efficient and economical.* Connected with this plan, it will be wise to consider whether the ships may not be so constructed as *to be available for naval purposes,* and in case of war, subject to the right of the United States to take them upon payment of their appraised value. A similar suggestion was made by the Secretary of the Navy in his report for the year 1869. They should also be required to carry the mails on moderate terms or in consideration of the subsidy. The use of sailing vessels and steamers built of wood may be continued successfully in the coasting trade, the trade with the British possessions, and upon the rivers and lakes of the country, but any effort to regain our former position upon the ocean by their agency *must end disastrously.*

"I entertain the opinion that the policy suggested will be effectual, and that in a comparatively short period our mechanics and artisans will acquire equal skill with those of England, and that we shall not only have the aid of the best machinery now in use elsewhere, but that important improvements will be made calculated to place the country in a position of superiority. We shall also be able to test practically the quality of American iron, which, for the purpose of shipbuilding, is represented as better than that used in Great Britain. If it should appear, as is claimed, that American iron is about ten per cent. better than the

iron used in England, an advantage will be secured, not only in the diminished cost of the vessels, but also in the increased tonnage capacity of American ships of equal dimensions over those constructed with inferior materials.

"Accepting as a truth established by experience that the ocean commerce of the world is to be carried on in iron steamships, we must consider and decide whether the United States *shall disappear from the list of maritime nations, or whether, by a determined and practical effort, we can regain the position which we occupied previous to the late rebellion.*"

We have italicized such remarks as we think claim the most earnest attention. Our readers know that we are no advocates of what is called "protection." We believe in "free trade" to the fullest extent. But that under consideration is an exceptional case. In no country in the world is the principle of free trade allowed a wider scope than it is in England; nowhere is it so universally accepted. Yet the British government has not only contributed to establish several ocean steamship lines by granting them large subsidies, but it still continues to encourage those lines by the same means. It is clear, then, that if private individuals in this country attempt to establish similar lines they have to compete not merely with private individuals like themselves, but also with the British government. And is our government to look on with folded arms at so unequal a contest? Would it not be as logical and paternal for it to decline to interfere if it saw one American citizen attacked by three British subjects?

It is because England has always pursued the opposite policy that she has so long been almost universally recognized as mistress of the seas; it is because Parliament is always willing to afford liberal encouragement to ocean commerce, especially to the carrying trade, that England has so little difficulty in time of war in enlarging her navy to any extent she requires, and manning her new warships with experienced seamen. Upon the other hand, it is because Congress has hitherto failed to afford similar encouragement to American commerce that it is now in the ruined condition it is. This is not the less true because, as Mr. Boutwell says, the principal immediate cause of that ruin was "the

destruction of American vessels by rebel cruisers during the war." Are we not to take warning from this? It is universally admitted that we have lost hundreds of millions because Congress was too parsimonious to grant four or five millions in subsidies. Is this sad and humiliating experience all in vain? Is the penny-wise and pound-foolish policy to be continued until we have no vessels left to be destroyed?

We are quite aware that there are such expressions as "The Treasury Ring." But if Mr. Boutwell be connected with any base-metal Ring, we know nothing of the fact. We confess we rather think there is no real foundation for the charge. This, however, we know: we have never belonged to, or profited by, any such Ring. We have never received one penny from Mr. Boutwell, directly or indirectly. What we have discussed and commended in this article, are the views expressed in the Secretary's Report, and the principles upon which those views are founded. In other words, we have confined ourselves to his financial system and its results, as developed before our eyes. But without pretending to know anything of the secret workings of the Treasury department, we regard the rapid diminution of the public debt, and the acknowledged general condition of the national finances as altogether incompatible with corrupt, or even injudicious, or unstatesman-like management.

A nation having the boundless resources of the United States, with the advantages of intelligence, enterprise and energy, which our people possess in so eminent a degree, could hardly be otherwise than wealthy and prosperous. But the resources and other advantages possessed by New York as a municipality, are quite as great as those possessed by the United States as a nation. Then compare the results as they are proved to exist at the present moment. Our great city, instead of having as rich a treasury as any in the world, is notoriously bankrupt, because its coffers have been plundered. Now, we hold that if the national Treasury had been "managed" in a similar manner—if it had been under the control of similar "Brains,"—the nation, instead of being in the prosperous condition it confessedly is, would have been as bankrupt at this mo-

ment as its commercial metropolis; although in the one case as well as in the other, the chief organizer of the robbery, if not the chief robber, might be able to boast, at least for a time, that none of the plunder can be traced to him.

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- ART. VII.—1. *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*. Vol. 1:
On the Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley. By
E. G. SQUIER, A.M., and E. H. DAVIS, M.D. Wash-
ington. 1848.
2. *The Natural and Civil History of the State of Ohio*. By
C. ATWATER. Cincinnati. 1838.
3. *Seven Years' Residence in the Deserts of North America*.
By the Abbé M. DOMENACH. London. 1860.
4. *Silliman's Journal for 1838*. Article by R. C. TAYLOR.

WHEN Europe first set her foot on the shores of the New World she found here a land covered with primeval forests, which stretched in undisturbed extent from the ocean to the great prairies of the west. Vegetable nature had here full sway, man being content to obtain his glimpses of sunshine through the sheltering canopy of leaves, and taking no part in the "struggle for existence" between the various plants.

Under the wide-spread dome of this mighty wood lived tribes of men differing essentially from any previously known, a red-skinned, taciturn, savage race, peculiar in feature and language, and so strongly marked in these peculiarities as to constitute a well-defined new family of mankind. Their languages, in general character, belonged to that agglutinative variety known as the Turanian, from being spoken by the Turanian tribes of northern Asia. This, with their proximity to Asia by way of Behring's Strait, was suggestive of an original derivation from this portion of the Eastern continent. But the linguistic resemblance is only in general form.

In particular features there is a radical difference; and what we know of the slow growth of language shows that if the two families descended from one original stock, a very long period of time must have elapsed since their separation.

The discrepancy in physical peculiarities between these western tribes and all other races of men affords a still stronger argument for attributing to them an exceedingly long period of separate existence. The various human races cling to their peculiarities of feature with a persistence on which, in certain known cases, no essential effect has been produced during thousands of years. This fact gives us reason to consider the American Indian as one of the primitive races of mankind.

They possessed, besides, a large body of habits and customs, well-defined political and social systems, and abundant superstitions and traditions, all pointing to the fact of a long occupancy of this forest realm, during which these *sui-generis* features had grown up from the accumulation of slow variations. Finding the forest-grown shores of the New World thus possessed, it was a natural conclusion that the animal as well as the vegetable tenants were indigenous to the soil, and that the red man formed an aboriginal race, the primitive human inhabitants of our land.

But later investigation goes to show that this opinion, though so strongly sustained by the above facts, is incorrect. Abundant evidence has been found of the previous existence, throughout a great portion of the territory of the United States, of a race of people much more civilized than the Indians, and differing widely from them in character. This race has left monuments of its existence upon our soil in an intricate system of earthworks, designed for defence, worship, sepulchre, and other unknown purposes, which are found throughout nearly the whole extent of the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and whose contents are highly interesting in the information they yield as to the condition of their builders.

The modern Indians are not without their ideas of artificial aid to the defensive gifts of nature. They have left throughout the state of New York, and elsewhere, numerous lines of de-

fence, and remains of pallisaded enclosures, all shrewdly built in localities where nature had left little for man to do. But these works, and the more advanced defences of the Southern Indians, are such as the shrewd savage might well devise, and are not to be compared with the extensive labors of the mound builders.

At what period in the past this race lived, and whence they originated, we can scarcely conjecture. As they do not appear to have crossed the Alleghanies or to have gone north of the great lakes, being principally confined to the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, they may have lived for a long period contemporaneously with their savage neighbors, the Indians, with whom they were in constant warfare, and by whom they may have been at length exterminated or driven from the country. This, at least, is the only reasonable conjecture in regard to their utter disappearance, and the possession of the entire country by their red-skinned successors. Whether this occurred hundreds or thousands of years ago no one can tell. We only know that in many places the surrounding forest has overgrown their deserted mounds, with all its variety of vegetation. Now it is most probable that some single species of tree would first take possession of these abandoned clearings, and that only after a long lapse of time would other trees succeed in intruding themselves, several forest generations being required for this complete homogeneity between the new and the old woodland. Yet trees now exist on the mounds having six or seven hundred rings of annual growth, with others of equal size decaying in the mould beneath them, so that their abandonment must have been, at least, more than a thousand years ago, possibly several thousand years.

The defensive works of these aborigines are often strong and intricate lines of earthworks, occupying the summits of the river bluffs, at points where converging ravines have cut precipitous walls on two or more sides, leaving but a narrow space of easy approach. The places selected always possess peculiar adaptation to the purpose designed, and the approaches are fortified with great skill. "They are" guarded by double overlapping walls, or a series of them, having sometimes an accom-

panying mound, designed perhaps as a 'look out,' and corresponding to the *barbican* in the British system of defence, of the middle ages."*

The banks of the Western rivers are usually steep, often inaccessible, and these works are built upon their most difficult points. Successive terraces are frequently formed by the river's shifting of its channel. "The formation of each terrace constitutes a sort of semi-geological era in the history of the valley: and the fact that none of the works occur upon the lowest or latest formed of these, while they are found indiscriminately upon all the others, bears directly upon the question of their antiquity."† Many of these works are very extensive. In the vicinity of Chillicothe is a fortified hill containing within its walls an area of one hundred and forty acres, and others approach this in extent. They display a judgment in the choice of localities and a knowledge of the science of defence in their fortifications which, considered in connection with their number and magnitude, impresses us strongly with respect for the power, and with enlarged ideas of the numbers, of the lost race that has built them.

"The vast amount of labor necessary to the erection of most of these works precludes the notion that they were hastily constructed to check a single or unexpected invasion. On the contrary there seems to have existed a *system of defenses*, extending from the mouth of the Alleghany diagonally across the country through central Ohio to the Wabash. Within this range the works which are regarded as defensive are largest and most numerous. If any inference may be drawn from this fact, it is that the pressure of hostilities was from the north-east; or that, if the tide of migration flowed from the south, it received its final check upon this line. On the other hypothesis, that in this region originated a semi-civilization which subsequently went southward, constantly developing itself in its progress, until it attained its height in Mexico, we may suppose from this direction came the hostile savage hordes, before whose incessant attacks the less-warlike mound builders gradually receded, or beneath whose exterminating cruelty they entirely disappeared—leaving these monuments alone to attest their existence, and the extraordinary skill with which they defended their altars and their homes. Upon either assumption it is clear that the contest was a protracted one, and that the race of the mounds were for a long time exposed to attack.‡

* Squier's *Antiquities of New York and the West*, p. 301.

† *Ib.*, p. 302.

‡ Smithsonian Contributions, vol. i., p. 44.

It is probable that these fortresses served as centres to which the surrounding agricultural population could fly in times of danger, and the extensive surfaces embraced within the lines may possibly have been employed in the production of vegetable food in the case of a protracted siege. But there are other structures to be considered which teach us far more of the character of this primitive race than can be learned from their works of defense. These are classed under the head of *Sacred Inclosures, Sacrificial, Temple, and Sepulchral Mounds, etc.*

An idea can be obtained of the immense numbers of these ancient works from the calculation that the State of Ohio alone contains ten thousand mounds, and one thousand or fifteen hundred enclosures. Many of these, are, of course, small, but others are of great magnitude. Occasional enclosures are found containing five or six hundred acres. In other cases the length of the embankment is out of all proportion to the area enclosed. Thus the group of works at the mouth of the Scioto River, embracing about two hundred acres, has at least twenty miles of embankment.

The mounds also vary very greatly in dimensions, ranging from a small size to that of the great mound at the mouth of Grave Creek in Virginia, which measures one thousand feet in circumference by seventy feet in height; or of the truncated pyramid at Cahokia in Illinois, which is nearly one hundred feet high, and half a mile in circumference at base, with a level summit of several acres area.

When we consider the immense labor necessary to dig and heap earth into masses of such huge dimensions, we cannot but gain an exalted idea of the energy and perseverance of these aborigines of our land. Such results can only have been achieved by a dense population, organized into a firm government, and presided over by a despotic ruler; some such political system, in short, as in Egypt produced the pyramids, and in Mexico and Peru their many massive works.

Such a system is so widely separated from the political condition of the existing American Indians as to invalidate the theory that these latter are the degenerated descendants of the race in question. We are obliged to look elsewhere for a solu-

tion of the mystery of their disappearance, which should, probably be ascribed to the warlike aggressions of these, their savage contemporaries.

The mounds are composed principally of earth, though stone, in large quantities, is often introduced, and many mounds are composed entirely of stone. Some of these latter were so extensive that the labor of forming them must have been immense. The great stone mound about eight miles south of Newark (Ohio), and about one mile east of the reservoir on the Licking Summit of the Ohio Canal, was one of the most remarkable structures in the State. It was composed of stones, in their natural shape, as they were found on the adjacent grounds, laid up, without cement, to the height of from 40 to 50 feet, upon a circular base of 182 feet diameter. This was surrounded by a low fosse and parapet of an ovate form, with a gateway on the east end.

When the canal reservoir, which is seven or eight miles long, was made, it was deemed necessary to protect the east bank from abrasion with stone. The nearest stones available for this purpose were those of the great mound. During the years 1831-32 from fifty to seventy-five teams were employed in removing this mass of material. It is said that from 10,000 to 15,000 wagon loads were carried away. As the workmen approached the base of the mound they discovered fifteen or sixteen small earth-mounds around or near the circumference of the base, and a similar one in the centre.*

These small mounds were not examined till many years after. Several of them were found to contain human bones, showing that they had been used for sepulchral purposes. One skeleton was found laid in a trough formed by hollowing a log. In connection with it were fifteen copper rings, and a breastplate of the same metal. The axe marks on the log showed that it had been cut with some weapon sharper than the stone axe, which is found so plentifully throughout the west. There were subsequently found in the same mound a stone box enclosing an engraved tablet in unknown characters, a

* Smithsonian Report, 1866, p. 359.

sandstone mortar, and several neatly worked stones resembling a mason's plumb bob. The bottom of the mounds is formed of a hard, white fire-clay, which is not known to occur within six miles.

Among the substances of most frequent occurrence in these mounds are large plates of mica. In illustration we may refer to a mound opened in constructing the locks for the above-mentioned canal. In it were found bones belonging to from twelve to fifteen skeletons, which were covered with large plates of mica, of the finest quality in regard to transparency and size. There were from twelve to twenty bushels of this mineral at this place alone, and it has been found in great quantities throughout the west, of every variety; having been apparently highly esteemed by the mound builders, for some unknown reason.

Yet it is not found in place in the Mississippi Valley, and must have been brought from a long distance, probably hundreds of miles. The nearest locality of some of the varieties discovered is on the Schuylkill river, near Philadelphia. It was no trivial labor to transport such quantities of a heavy material to so great a distance.

The great mound at Grave Creek, Virginia, was also sepulchral in its purposes, as has been proved by an excavation made into it by its owner, for purposes of discovery. At the bottom, directly under the summit, he found a vaulted sepulchral chamber, four yards long by two and a half yards wide. It was composed of a stone wall nearly four feet thick, and contained two skeletons, one being of a woman almost reduced to dust. There were found many ornaments, among them necklaces of pearls.

Eighteen feet above this was another grave, containing a skeleton, seventeen hundred shell beads, five leather bracelets, and one hundred and fifty mica plates. But the most important discovery in this sepulchre was that of an alphabetical inscription, which has excited the attention of the learned, and has given rise to a great variety of opinions. "It is composed of twenty-two characters, in three lines, with a cross and a mask engraved on a hard stone of elliptical shape, about

two and one-half inches and two inches wide, and about five lines thick. Learned men who have most carefully examined this inscription, agree neither on its origin nor on the nature of its characters, of which four bear a resemblance to Etruscan signs, four to those of Thugga (Africa), five to the ancient Runic in Scandinavia, six to the Tonnarik, seven to the old characters found in Ireland, ten to the Phœnician, and fifteen to the Celtiberian.*

The sepulchral mounds are not stratified, like some to be yet mentioned. The skeletons are usually enclosed in a rude frame work of timber, but in some cases in bark or coarse matting. A layer of charcoal is often found, indicating funeral rites. Indeed, there is abundant evidence that cremation was frequently practised. Besides the articles already mentioned, there are found copper and silver bracelets, implements in stone, and a variety of other ornamental and useful articles. As an evidence of the probably great age of these erections, we may mention that in the barrows of the ancient Britons, which are at least 1800 years old, entire and well preserved skeletons are found, while the mound skeletons are invariably much decayed, though the earth around them is very compact and dry.

In the nitre caves of Kentucky are found great numbers of mummies, preserved apparently by the air of these caves, as there is no evidence of preparation. These are found wrapped in four successive coverings, the interior consisting of a stuff woven of fine cord, peculiarly twisted, and of large feathers, which are arranged with great art. The second covering is composed of the woven cord without feathers, and the two outer ones of deer skins.

We will next consider the enclosures, which are found in such numbers, and of which we can only conjecture that they were in some way connected with the religious ideas of this lost people. These, unlike the works of defense, are almost always built on level river terraces. They are in most cases regular in outline, the square and the circle predominating.

* Deserts of North America, p. 411.

Some groups of works embrace several of these and other figures, connected by avenues, with numerous entrance ways and small mounds, forming in all an intricate arrangement which has no parallel elsewhere on the earth.

The circles are usually small, ranging from 250 to 300 feet in diameter, though some have a circuit of more than a mile. Many of them are perfect circles, and many of the rectangular works perfect squares, even in those cases where the walls are more than a mile in length, which is a striking evidence of the skill and knowledge of their builders. The circles possess an interior ditch, which is absent from the rectangular enclosures. The walls usually range from three to seven feet high, but in the great circle at Newark, it is thirty feet from the bottom of the ditch to the summit of the embankment. The works at this locality were very extensive, covering an area of four square miles.

Within or near the enclosures occur the sacrificial mounds. These are formed in convex layers of earth and ashes, as if they had been built up by successive additions, with intervals of use between. On or below their summits are altars of baked clay or stone. These vary from two to fifty feet long, averaging about eight feet. They are burnt hard as if from the action of intense heat. "On the altars have been found instruments and ornaments of silver, copper, stone and bone; beads of silver, copper, pearls and shells; spear and arrow heads of flint, quartz, garnet and obsidian; fossil teeth of sharks, teeth of the alligator; marine shells, galena, sculptures of the human head and of numerous animals, pottery of various kinds, and a large number of interesting articles, some of which evince great skill in art."*

The Temple Mounds also occur within or near enclosures. They consist of truncated pyramids. These are round, square, and of other shapes, but always flat topped. They contain no remains, and are remarkable for their likeness to the Mexican *Teocallis*. In some cases they are terraced. The great pyramid at Cahokia is of this class. It has a terrace of

* Antiquities of New York, p. 318.

such dimensions that it was used by the monks of La Trappe as a kitchen-garden when members of this austere order inhabited its summit. The solid contents of this great work are estimated to amount to twenty millions of cubic feet.

Beside these mounds are others of uncertain purpose. Some seem as if intended for points of observation or alarm. "The principal heights along the valleys of the west are commonly crowned with mounds of middling size. In certain valleys one may see long chains of this kind of observatory, placed at short distances from each other, on tops of hills and mountains. Fires lighted on these elevations can be seen at fifteen or sixteen miles all round. In the South of Ohio some are so placed as to permit of corresponding rapidly between two points forty or fifty miles distant from each other."*

Another class of monuments are the graded ways. There is a remarkable instance of these near Piketown, Ohio, which is cut upward at a slope through the river bluff from the valley to the upper level. It is, in all, 1,080 feet long, the walls at the lower end being 22 feet high. This artificial pass has been taken advantage of in forming the turnpike which here ascends from the river level. "Hundreds pass along without suspecting that they are in the midst of one of the most interesting monuments which our country affords, and one which bears a marked resemblance to some of those works which are descended to us in common with the causeways and aqueducts of Mexico."†

As we proceed towards the South we find evidences of a progressive spirit in the mound builders. There are here few enclosures or works of defence, but the mounds assume a remarkable regularity and an extraordinary size. These huge erections have no connection with enclosures, but are usually surrounded with smaller mounds, and are variously shaped; elliptical, circular, square, etc.

They have usually a flat summit, on which small mounds are often erected. In some of them paths wind regularly from base to summit. In other cases gigantic steps lead upward. In

* Deserts of N. America, p. 369.

† Smithsonian Contributions, Vol. I, p. 89

these and other points the resemblance to the Mexican Teocalli is so marked that we are forced to admit some connection between the two races of builders. In further evidence of this are pipes formed in the shape of a human head, with a fillet of real pearls, worn precisely like those on the brow of the small statue of an Aztec princess figured by one of the early Spaniards.

Among the antiquities of Florida are high roads, "usually leading to a pyramidal hill, or to a lake evidently dug out for the use of the population, or conducting to broad tetragonal terraces. From St. John's, directing one's progress to the South of the Floridan peninsula, one meets several of these long and wide avenues, bordered with enormous pyramids, and leading from the town to an artificial lake. These pyramids, undoubtedly raised to transmit to posterity the glory and magnificence of a reign or nation, might also have served the purpose of public edifices for political or religious assemblies."*

In this State are vestiges of extensive roads sixty to seventy-five miles long. These terminate at a mound. In Western Florida one of these roads is distinctly visible in a straight line for sixty-five miles along the banks of the river Oklokonney. The mounds, from five hundred to six hundred and sixty-six yards in circumference, and from eighteen to fifty feet high, are generally square, the side next the road having a gentle slope. Some have wide steps leading to the summit. These may have formed the centres of the towns or cities of the ancient inhabitants, and have been surrounded by dense communities, living in adobe huts of which no trace remains.

In the region bordering the upper lakes, partly in Michigan, Iowa, and Missouri, but particularly in Wisconsin, are numerous earthworks of the most interesting character, and singularly different from those noticed in other parts of the country. These strange works are in the form of different animals, and frequently of men. They occur on the undulating surface of the country, forming huge bas reliefs of the various animals indigenous to the country. Beasts, birds, reptiles, and men, are

* Deserts of N. America, p. 356.

alike represented, of gigantic size, and often sufficiently faithful for the animal intended to be easily recognised.

These are very numerous, occurring in long, dependent ranges, with which are connected smaller conical mounds. Their height is inconsiderable, being from one and a half to six feet, but the level surface on which they stand permits their outlines to be traced without difficulty. In Dade county, Wisconsin, is a row of quadrupeds, probably intended to represent buffaloes, and thirty-five yards long. Connected with them is a human figure forty-eight yards long. These figures are in many cases nude, and it is difficult to distinguish whether buffalo or bear, alligator or serpent, is intended, but, as above stated, in other cases the intention is evident.

In Adams county, Ohio, occurs a monument of which Squier thus speaks: "Probably the most extraordinary earth-work thus far discovered at the West is the Great Serpent. It is situated on a high, crescent-formed hill. Conforming to the curve of the hill, and occupying its very summit, is the serpent, its head resting near the point, and its body winding back for seven hundred feet in graceful undulations, terminating in a triple coil at the tail. The entire length, if extended, would not be less than one thousand feet. The neck of the serpent is stretched out and slightly curved, and its mouth is opened widely as if in the act of swallowing or ejecting an oval figure, which rests partially within its distended jaws. This oval emblem of earth is four feet high, its diameters being one hundred and sixty and eighty feet respectively. The serpent, separately, or in connection with a circle, egg, or globe, has been a predominant symbol among many primitive nations. It prevailed in Egypt, Greece, and Assyria, and entered widely into the superstitions of the Celts, Hindoos, and Chinese. It even penetrated into America, and was conspicuous in the mythology of the ancient Mexicans, among whom its significance does not seem to have differed materially from that which it possessed in the old world."*

Having thus given a brief description of the remarkable

* Smithsonian Contributions, Vol. i., p. 97.

earth-works left by this lost race, we will proceed to consider other points of their civilization. The progress of mankind in the Eastern continents are, by modern archaeologists, divided into several ages, or epochs of development, distinguished as the Old and the New Stone Ages, the Age of Bronze, and that of Iron. Preceding the Bronze Age should be an Age of Copper, as the use of native metals must have preceded that of alloys. Only a few traces of the use of copper, however, have been found in Europe, and it is supposed that we must seek the true Copper Age elsewhere, as in Asia; and that people who had already discovered the use of bronze conquered the stone-using races of Europe, and originated the Bronze Age.

Now the race of American aborigines, whose works we are considering, had entered this epoch of human progress which, as we have seen, has left such slight traces in the Old World. They were, at the period of their disappearance, in the Copper Age. True, they do not seem to have developed the use of this metal to any great extent, their weapons and implements being yet principally composed of stone. But it must be considered that native copper is not susceptible of any great industrial employment in the hands of a rude people, and is much better suited to ornamental purposes, to which they principally applied it. There were works, however, achieved by this people, to be yet mentioned, which seem to necessitate the possession of better tools than have yet been found, and they may have applied the metals in other ways than their remains give us warrant to believe.

Among these works are porphyry sculptures, which seem to have been cut, yet which now turn the edge of the best steel knife. How these were made is a question to which no answer has yet been given. Besides the bracelets, beads, and other ornaments in copper found in the mounds are some articles of use, such as well-wrought axes, chisels, etc. These were all worked cold, and there is nothing to show that their makers had any knowledge of smelting processes. Some of these copper ornaments are covered with silver, which is hammered very thin, and so very nicely applied to the metal within as to seem like plating.

It needs, sometimes, a close examination to perceive how it was performed.

This copper was obtained by mining operations, of which abundant traces yet remain. They had discovered the stores of metal in the Lake Superior copper region, and there is scarce a locality in which the metal occurs in any abundance, where traces of aboriginal mining are not found by their more skillful successors. "The vein belonging to the Minnesota Company exhibits evidence of having been worked for a distance of two miles.*" This is indicated by open cuts in the course of the vein, at whose bottoms are broken implements, stone hammers, etc. There are also evidences of fire having been employed to aid in extracting the metal from the rock. Some of these excavations are thirty feet deep.

In the mine of the company above named, covered by fifteen feet of accumulated soil, and beneath trees not less than four hundred years old, was found a mass of pure copper weighing 11,537 lbs. From this huge mass of metal every particle of the rock had been removed. It had been supported by skids, and was surrounded by marks of the fire which had probably been used to disintegrate the rock. In connection with it were found various rude implements of copper. It had evidently been abandoned, either from its weight being beyond their power of lifting or for other reasons.

The great Ontonagon mass of virgin copper, which is now deposited at Washington, showed, when found, traces of portions having been cut from it, while the ground around it was strewn with fragments of stone axes. From these few indications we may gain some idea of the extent of the mining industry of the mound builders. They worked also the salt springs for salt. Pits yet remain in the salt mines in which are found broken pottery, hammers and axes. This people was simply contemporary in degree of civilization, not necessarily in date, with the copper using races of the Old World. In many respects they were in advance of the stone using races of Europe, some of their works rivalling the labors of the bronze age.

* Squier's Antiquities, p. 281.

Among the several industries exercised by all primitive races none is so general, or so distinctive of their degree of progress, as the manufacture of pottery. Like the mollusks among the fossil tribes of the earth, whose constant presence and succession serve as a chronological index of the age of the rocks, so the general presence of pottery enables us to compare the works of different races with each other, and estimate their comparative degrees of skill and culture. "The manufacture of pottery is the simplest of arts. It would naturally be suggested by the impressions made in the moist clay or soil by hands or feet, and would first be practised where the proper material most abounds, as in the valleys of great rivers. The Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Etrurians became potters from their vicinity to the Euphrates, the Nile, and the rivers of northern Italy. In their shape the vessels of the primitive manufacturer would be most apt to take the form of the natural models he might observe around him. The type of earliest and rudest production was the shell or a nut, or the rind of some of the pumpkin tribe, and this to such an extent that those acquainted with the vegetable productions of different countries are generally able at a glance to identify their productions in their pottery. The second type, one that marks a considerable progress, is the female bust, with sometimes an attempt to preserve its characteristics as symbols of fecundity and abundance. This graceful type was carried to a voluptuous extent by the Greeks."*

The pottery found in the mounds manifests a very considerable degree of skill, which could only be the result of long practice, and indicates a race that had been for many centuries slowly progressing in taste and skill, till they had attained a high standard of excellence. They were unacquainted with the use of the potter's wheel, yet, by manual skill alone, produced works which for symmetry and excellent finish look like the work of professional potters. Of course we speak of the fine finish of their work in a comparative sense, not intending to place it on a level with the work of civilized nations, but to compare it with that of other races of presumably equal cul-

* Squier's *Antiquities*, p. 128.

ture. Some of their pottery is tastefully ornamented with scrolls, figures of birds, etc. These are engraved in the clay, being cut with a sharp instrument. The material of the vases is a fine clay, which is worked into forms of exceeding regularity and precision. None of them are glazed, this branch of the art seeming to have been unknown.

In their ornaments and warlike implements a great variety of substances was employed. Among these we find obsidian, a mineral not found nearer than Central America, and which in subsequent ages was largely employed by the Aztecs. This is a striking instance of commercial enterprise, and knowledge of the products of distant countries. In the arrow and lance heads and cutting instruments every variety of quartz was employed, some of them being worked with exquisite skill from pure limpid crystals of quartz. Mixed with the ashes and other substances on the altars have been found marine shells and pearls in great quantities. Thus in further evidence of their commercial energy, we have copper and silver from the Great Lakes, pearls and shells from the Gulf, mica from the Alleghanies, and obsidian from the volcanic ranges of Mexico.

Among the numerous other evidences of the skill of this lost race may be mentioned their carvings in stone, of which many striking examples have been found, which exhibit an artistic taste superior to any of the remains of the "Stone Age" of Europe, and a power of working in hard materials which would seem impossible, had we not the evidences before us. We do not refer to their skilfully chipped spear and arrow heads, their porphyry hammers, their pestles, disks, and other instruments of unknown use, but to the elaborately wrought pipes, upon which their best artistic skill was displayed. This people must have been as strongly addicted to the use of tobacco as any of their successors in the land, judging from the labor and time they seem to have given to the preparation of their pipes. Probably they attached some superstitious force to the practice of smoking, of which we may have an indication in the reverence for the pipe yet displayed by the American Indians.

The stone carvings are of the greatest variety in design,

and show a close observance of nature and detail, which is very unlike the usual work of savages. Many of these sculptures are remarkably truthful in their delineations, the characteristic expression and attitude, and in many cases the very habits of the animal, being indicated. Thus the otter is represented in the act of securing a fish. In like manner the heron is displayed as grasping a fish, and the hawk engaged in tearing a small bird in his talons. Many other instances of attention to the truth of nature might be given.

Among these sculptured animals may be included nearly every beast, bird and reptile indigenous to the country; scarcely one is omitted. We have carvings representing the beaver, otter, elk, bear, wolf, panther, raccoon, opossum and squirrel; among birds, the hawk, owl, raven, duck, goose, etc.; of reptiles, the alligator, turtle, toad, and rattlesnake. This partial list will serve to give an idea of the wide range of subjects embraced in their artistic labors. Beside these are several animals and birds not indigenous to the country. Several pipes are in existence representing in all its characteristic features the manitus or sea cow, an animal whose nearest locality is the coast of Florida. The toucan is also represented, so naturally that the object intended cannot be mistaken. Yet this bird is strictly tropical in its habitat, and its appearance among the sculptures of the mound builders show an acquaintance with the best productions of far distant regions little to be expected. There are also representations of the cougar, a tropical animal, which are executed in red granulated porphyry, so hard as to turn the edge of the best tempered knife.

The human form and face is frequently represented, the form usually crouched and bent so as to bring the whole frame within the limits of compactness necessary for a pipe. Some of the faces peering out from the front of these doubled up figures are ludicrously distorted, while others are probably good representations of the general features of the race.

Besides the above named there are many other devices, some very singular. These pipes are always cut from a single piece of hard stone. They are mostly formed of fine porphyry, of many shades of color, though other materials are occasion-

ally employed. All the mound carvings are exquisitely wrought, and, if the material will admit of it, are beautifully polished. It is, and seems likely to remain, an utter mystery how this was performed. It could not have been done by any process of grinding, as the stone is frequently cut under to bring out the limbs and other details of the animals, in a manner to which no grinding process would be applicable. Thus, while the stone employed is often so hard as to turn the edge of finely tempered steel, it was cut by a people possessing no harder metal than native copper. They must, moreover, have found considerable facility in the working of this stone, or their carvings would scarcely have been so numerous, or have been so exquisitely finished.

In fact, some lost mechanical power in the working of stone appears to have been possessed by most of the early nations, in regard to which we are yet utterly in the dark. No one can imagine how the ancient Mexicans, or their neighbors of Central America, with no metallic implements harder than bronze, executed such a profusion of wrought and carved stone, or how the Peruvians managed to cut the stone for their numerous and massive temples and other buildings. Still more amazing is the work performed in old Egypt, yet the utmost research of archaeologists have found there no trace of steel weapons, and we are obliged to admit that their labors also were performed with no better material than bronze. In India the great excavated temples on the coast islands are cut hundreds of feet in length and depth in a hard porphyritic rock, which needs the hardest steel to work. Of all the lost arts of the past this seems the most surprising, and the most reasonable conjecture we can make is that the ancients possessed some method of hardening bronze which is unknown to us. Yet, what remain of the bronze weapons of Egypt are of only ordinary hardness, and in regard to the works of the mound builders, who possessed only copper, this conjecture will not apply. Perhaps the future may reveal to us the mode of performance of these labors, as we are beginning to conceive how they executed their marvels of lifting, but for the present we must be content to rest in ignorance.

In considering the origin, character, and fate of this extra-

ordinary people, we have insufficient data to arrive at any positive conclusion, though we are able to form conjectures of various degrees of probability. That they differed essentially from the existing American Indians there are abundant reasons to believe. The history of all nomadic tribes, whether we consider the Scythian tribes of Asia, or the Indians of North America, shows them to be averse to the patient and persevering labor necessary to the erection of such massive structures. The principal localities of the mounds are those where now are situated the most thriving towns and cities of the West. The site of St. Louis, for instance, was covered with small mounds. As the attraction which draws modern settlers to these localities is principally their agricultural advantages, we may conjecture that similar reasons influenced their predecessors, and that agriculture was one of their main industries. The great extent and variety of the works found in some of these fine agricultural districts shows that these localities were settled by a numerous population for a long period of time. We have similar indications in their many elaborate works of defense. The position of these works indicates, as before remarked, that the pressure of aggression came from the north-east, to which region the ancestors of the modern Indians may have been at that period confined. In Wisconsin, whose animal and other mounds show an extensive population, there are no works of defence, nor are there to any extent in the Southern States, which facts point to the same conclusion.

As to how long they resisted this aggressive force no one can say, other than that it must have been a very considerable period. It was certainly long enough for the development of a considerable degree of civilization, for the origination of numerous superstitious and national ideas, and the erection of vast numbers of monuments of these ideas; for the growth of an artistic taste and of the mechanical power necessary to its full display; for the origination of numerous industries, as displayed in their copper and salt mining, their skill in the manufacture of pottery, of woven cloth goods, and of flint weapons, and in the working of copper, silver, and other materials; and finally for the origination of a compact and despotic system of gov-

ernment in which the whole nation were the slaves of one autocratic head and of a well organized priesthood. The great numbers of mounds intended for religious observances proves this latter, while the former is shown by the great extent of the labors performed which could only have been executed under the commands of a despotic power similar to those of Mexico, Peru, and Egypt. Wherever we find vast works without any utilitarian object, we may safely surmise that the king has been working for glory or the priesthood for power, with the hands of the people or of captive races. It is only in modern times where works of equal extent are erected for useful purposes, that we find the people, of their own will, uniting in their accomplishment.

As to the origin of this race, their faces do not differ essentially from those of the great American family, whose type is radically the same throughout the whole country. Yet they are sufficiently unlike the features of the Indian race to establish the fact that they are not identical with this latter. Morton, at page 208 of his "*Crania Americana*," points out these features of distinction in the skulls of the mound builders, these being in the wider expansion of the forehead, the larger facial angle, the less obliquity of the orbit of the eye, the less prominent projection of the jaws, the smaller dimensions of the palatine fossa, and the flattened occiput.

There is reason to believe that their long contiguity to the Indians infused into the minds of these latter many of the lesser features of their civilization, particularly those habits and superstitions which are most likely to arrest the attention of savage tribes. Only by some such hypothesis are we able to account for the many peculiar traditions, habits, and observances displayed by the existing tribes, so widely different from those possessed by savage races elsewhere, and occasionally of such character as to seem to be beyond the originating powers of the savage intellect.

There is much difference of opinion as to the origin of the American races. Most authorities consider that they originated in a migration from the Old World. Of this idea there are two forms, that which ascribes them to a simply populating immi-

gration, a result of the general movement of mankind from their original abode in Central Asia, in which some may have gone northward and crossed Behring's Strait, while others went westward and settled Europe. The other is that of a civilizing immigration, ascribing the Americans to the movements of partly civilized maritime nations who in prehistoric times are supposed to have crossed the Atlantic, and even the Pacific, in ships and settled these remote shores. There are many traditions extant of the Mexicans, Peruvians and other aboriginal races, strongly confirmatory of these views, particularly of the latter. Among the principal writers in defence of the latter opinion, we may mention the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in his *Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amerique Centrale*, and other works, and Alexander Von Humboldt, in *Vues des Cordilleras et Monumens des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amerique*.

Other writers are strongly of opinion that the Americans are autochthones, and bring all their forces to the discredit of the immigration hypothesis, but the balance of opinion and of evidence appears to be arrayed in favor of this hypothesis. At how great a period in the remote past such an immigration took place we can only conjecture from the time necessary to effect the growth of a large body of peculiar habits and customs, the birth and development of an indigenous civilization, the formation of a family of languages from the rude speech of the original immigrants, and all the changes necessary to bring them forward to the point at which we first take cognizance of them as the mound builders. The civilizing immigrants, so far as their influence was not absorbed and lost in the pre-existing civilizations, must have affected principally the inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, there being no evidence that the mound builders were subjected to their influence.

As to our last question of what became of this lost race which has so utterly vanished from its original seat, we are not entirely in the dark. We have already presented the reasons for believing that they may have been finally driven from their stronghold on the Ohio by an aggressive pressure. But previous to this it is probable that from an overteeming popu-

lation successive waves of migration may have gone southward under an influence similar to that which produced the Asiatic migrations referred to. These southward travelling emigrants advanced by slow stages, leaving marks of their occasional long stoppages in the numerous mounds of the South. They may have occupied successive regions until pushed forward by new migratory movements. Not being obliged to devote their energies to defense, these were exerted in the development of their civilization, and we find a gradual increase southward in the boldness and vigor of their mound-building propensities. These also change in form and character till, in the Gulf States, we find them assuming a shape that is full of significance of the after movements of their builders, namely, the shape of the Mexican *Tescalli*. As we can scarcely suppose that pyramids of this particular shape were originated independently by two so slightly separated nations, or that the one borrowed from the other, when we find the one building only in earth, the other in hewn stone; we prefer the alternative of supposing that the one originated from the other, and, of course, that the earthworks were the models and precursors of the works in stone.

This is, in effect, to imagine that the southward migration continued beyond the Gulf states, ending only on the table lands of Mexico, where it originated that strange civilization, whose material form was so utterly crushed out by the Spanish conquerors, but whose informing spirit is still of the highest interest to the modern nations. The Aztec traditions refer their origin to a country called Aztlan, a mysterious land far to the north, which Humboldt supposed to have been in the regions of the great lakes, not further south than the latitude of 42° north, or in the very seat of the mound-builders. If such a migration extended still southward, it would probably pass through the present states of Louisiana and Texas, "along the edge of the gentle acclivity which, under the name of the Sierra Guadalupe, stretches from the Rio Grande to the Rio Brazos, towards the banks of the great Rio del Norte."*

* The American Migration, Smithsonian Report, 1866, p. 335.

Part of these migrating tribes seem to have moved towards the southeast into Florida, which became the seat of a higher civilization. To this may possibly be ascribed the superior culture of the Floridan Indians as found by De Soto and others. These emigrants may have eventually proceeded to Cuba and Yucatan, or part of them may have traversed the great arch of the Caribbean islands, and finally reached the banks of the Oronoco. "It is from the Rio Gila onwards that we are first enabled to perceive definite traces of the course of the migration into the regions of the South; the indications of the different stages of its progress increase with its entrance upon Mexican territory, but we yet possess only sparingly the means of identification. The first immigrants who appeared in the north of Mexico brought with them to so-called Toltecatl civilization the work of the races of the great Naho family. The space which this mode of culture gradually occupied is shown by the two great *casas* on the Rio Gila, and in Chihuahua, by el Zape in Durango, and la Quemada in Zacatecas. Over the Nahoas floats much mystical obscurity. Their appearance in the northern parts of Mexico must have taken place at a much earlier time than the commencement of the Christian era. Our knowledge respecting them is little more than enough to justify us in regarding them as perhaps the founders of the stone works in northern Mexico. If we admit that the age of the civilization indicated in the region of the Mississippi reaches back 2,000 years, it is not impossible that the Nahoas were also the builders of the earth mounds in North America, or at least belonged to the race from which these works proceeded."*

A kindred race to the Nahoas, the Toltecs, entered Mexico from the North in the seventh century of our era. These migrations are, however, not to be considered as single movements, but as the southward progress of successive branches of the same family, which may have extended over many centuries. The Toltec empire in Mexico lasted four centuries, and was finally ended about 1018, by famine, pestilence and civil war. A barbarous race, of separate origin, the Chichemics, who

* Smithsonian Report, 1866, p. 336

had long been settled to the north of the Toltecs, and had imbibed a portion of their civilization, took possession of the deserted lands of the Toltecs, on the withdrawal of these latter to the South.

Immediately after this period appeared those seven tribes which are known by the common name of Nahuatlacas, and which belong to the family and spoke the tongue of the Toltecs. Six of these tribes appeared first, closely following each other. It was in the year 1090 that the seventh of these tribes the celebrated Aztecs, issued from Aztlan, their unknown home, which, as above remarked, is to be sought in the region of the Great Lakes. The Aztec annals enable us partly to trace this family in its wanderings, but the geographical names given being utterly unknown, we have no satisfactory indication of their movements, until they appeared on the table lands of Anahuac, about 1190, (a century after they had left their mysterious Aztlan,) and established that remarkable civilization which existed until three centuries later, a migration of iron-clad and horse-besriding warriors, appeared from beyond the Atlantic, and overthrew the last traces of North American indigenous civilization.

We have thus briefly attempted to describe the character of that remarkable race which has left so great an abundance of memorials in the fertile valleys of the United States, and to give such reliable indications as remain of their origin and final destiny. There are nowhere on the face of the earth more interesting relics, as they enable us to reconstruct, in a considerable degree, the history of this continent, long ages before the European foot was set upon its shores, and to discover the probable origin and gradual growth of that remarkable Aztec civilization, which has strongly excited the attention and interest of the modern world.

- ART VIII.—1. *Etudes d'Astronomie Stellaire.* Par F. G. W. STRUVE. 1847.
2. *Washington Astronomical Observations for the Year 1867.* 1 vol., 4to. Washington, 1870.
3. *Results of Astronomical Observations made during the Years 1834,-5,-6,-7,-8, at the Cape of Good Hope, being the Completion of a Telescopic Survey of the whole Surface of the visible Heavens, commenced in 1825.* By SIR JOHN F. W. HERSCHEL. London, 1847.
4. *Descriptive Astronomy.* By GEORGE F. CHAMBERS, F.R.A.S. Oxford, 1867. 8vo.
5. *Astronomie Populaire.* Par F. ARAGO. 4 vols., 8vo.

WHEN we consider how few there are, even in the most enlightened nations, that devote any time to scientific reading, scientific observations, and scientific thought, and how many there are that are entirely destitute of all scientific knowledge, except its merest elements, our first conclusion is that it is the great business of life, at least in this stage of it, to provide for the wants of our physical nature. The laboring man goes out at early dawn, and returns only at the close of the day. A large part of the remaining hours is devoted to sleep to recruit his exhausted energies. Thus does he spend his time, day after day, and year after year, till nature bids him cease. The man of business follows a similar round, and so life passes with a large class of mankind. But can it be that man's life must pass in this way? It is the mind of man that pre-eminently distinguishes him above all other terrestrial beings; it is the mind, really, that is to be gratified; and whether we seek that gratification in mere physical pleasure, or in the higher forms of mental enjoyment, the happiness is the same (mental), differing only in degree.

It is difficult to make the uneducated mind comprehend, even in a small degree, the great truths and facts of nature; and never is it astonished at the wonderful and sublime phenomena

which the God of nature has spread around us on every side. This is a sufficient refutation of those views entertained and expressed by certain individuals that man, the first of the race, when first ushered into the world, was struck with awe and astonishment by the appearance which nature presents, and especially the sublime spectacle which the nocturnal heavens exhibit when the sky is cloudless. There is no one, perhaps, more astonished at the grandeur of such a scene than the educated astronomer who understands the mechanism of the heavens, and can thus realize more fully the nature and uses of the numerous orbs that people the boundless expanse above. Indeed nature does not present us with a grander spectacle throughout her wide domain than she does during a clear night when the innumerable hosts of suns shine out from every visible portion of the celestial concave, and shed upon us their mild radiance, tempered thus by the immense interval which separates them from us. Undeveloped man sees these things, but to him they are but so many points shining from above, which sometimes serve him as guides while he performs his nocturnal rambles. Some sudden and extraordinary celestial visitor may excite and alarm him, but the sentiment of sublimity scarcely accompanies such feelings.

The common observer would say that the fixed stars, so called, are simply scattered promiscuously over the heavens without any approximation to order, or any tendency to accumulations in distinct regions; but a little attention to the relative positions of the stars will correct this error. Many places will be found to be quite thickly strewn with stars, whilst others will be characterized by a general paucity. The regions bordering on the Milky Way are generally the richest in stars; and the parts furthest from the general plane of the galactic circle have the fewest. To Sir William Herschel we owe the process of *gauging* * the heavens, a method which consisted in counting the number of stars in any region of the heavens, of all magnitudes, which occur in a single field of view, fifteen minutes in diameter, through a

* *Annuaire* for 1842, pp. 41-45.

telescope twenty feet in focal length, eighteen inches in diameter, and with a magnifying power of one hundred and eighty. The points of observation were very numerous, and taken indiscriminately in all regions of the celestial sphere visible in our northern latitudes. M. Struve has discussed the observations which Herschel made, and according to his investigations, the mean density of the stars in the galactic circle is about thirty times as great as it is at its pole.* These measures of Sir William Herschel take in, however, telescopic stars as well as those which are visible to the naked eye. The result which we have just stated, has reference to that part of the heavens situated to the north of the general plane of the Galaxy. Similar observations carried out in the southern hemisphere with reference to this plane, lead to a like result.†

The number of stars visible to the naked eye is much smaller than one would suppose after taking a hasty look at the heavens on a clear evening when the atmosphere is free from haze or other obstructions to vision. To satisfy ourselves that the number of stars distinctly visible to the unaided eye at any one time, is small, we have only to count them in any given space. It is a remarkable fact that the central portions of the retina are far less sensitive to feeble impressions of light than the parts nearer the margin; and the great number of stars which we at first suppose to be visible, is made up in part by such as just lie beyond the reach of distinct vision, but whose rays enter the eye obliquely, and thus, owing to the constitution of the retina, become indistinctly visible.

The number of stars visible to the naked eye from any given locality, is only about two thousand; and the whole number of stars distinctly visible to the naked eye, is somewhere from five thousand to five thousand and eight hundred,‡

* *Etudes d'Astronomie Stellaire*, p. 71.

† Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*, Art. 795.

‡ Humboldt's *Cosmos*, Vol. iii, p. 141. The number of stars that can be seen by different eyes, must vary considerably. We have been able to count *eight* stars in the Pleiades, and see them distinctly, when the moon was in the second quarter, and in the same region of the heavens.

depending somewhat on the difference in the constitution of different eyes.

Since the relative amount of light which reaches us from the different stars varies from the most brilliant to the lowest order which the eye can distinguish, even with the help of the most powerful telescopes, they were divided into magnitudes at an early period in the history of astronomy, ranging from the first to the sixth, prior to the invention of the telescope, and since then this division has been extended down to the sixteenth or even to the twentieth magnitude, according to the scale used by different astronomers. According to M. Argelander, a very high authority on this subject, the stars, from the first to the ninth magnitudes inclusive, may be arranged in the order of magnitudes, beginning with the first, according to the following numbers: 1st, 20; 2d, 65; 3d, 190; 4th, 425; 5th, 1,100; 6th, 3,200; 7th, 13,000; 8th, 40,000; 9th, 142,000; with a total of about two hundred thousand. M. Struve makes their number about two thousand greater.*

A very remarkable phenomenon which the fixed stars present, and one which is not well understood, is their nocturnal scintillation. This is particularly noticeable in the temperate and polar regions of the globe. The fact that the planets rarely scintillate shows that the sensible disks which they present, as compared with the immeasurably small ones which the fixed stars exhibit, has something to do with it; or else direct or reflected light has an influence in producing it. Humboldt informs us that in the tropical regions of the globe the stars are subject to only a slight degree of scintillation, except when they are near the horizon.† We hence conclude that the twinkling of the stars is in part at least an atmospheric phenomenon. M. Ch. Dufour, Switzerland, has called special attention to the subject of the scintillation of the stars,‡ which he considers an important meteorological phenomenon.

That the stars are self-luminous suns can be demonstrated beyond question. Every planet that is visible to the naked eye,

* *Cosmos*, Vol. iii., p. 142.

† *Ibid* pp. 96-112. Humboldt here gives M. Arago's views on the subject.

‡ *Smithsonian Report* for 1861, pp. 220-227.

and some that are not, have a measurable disk ; but none of the fixed stars have, and yet some of them, especially Sirius, are comparable in apparent magnitude to the brightest planets, Jupiter and Venus. Besides, the immense distance at which it is now known that the stars are situated from us, entirely precludes every probability that they receive more than a very feeble light from our sun. Sir William Herschel informs us that he seldom observed the brighter fixed stars with his great telescope. At one time, after sweeping the heavens with that instrument, he says that "the appearance of Sirius announced itself at a great distance like the dawn of the morning, and came on by degrees, increasing in brightness till this brilliant star at last entered the field of the telescope with all the splendor of the rising sun, and forced me to take my eye from the beautiful sight." The intensity of the light was so great that it was injurious to his sight.

The law of universal gravitation requires all the stars to be in motion. Since they are free in space to move in any direction in which they may be impelled, we know that they cannot be in a state of statical equilibrium ; but if they are divided into clusters or systems, each system must be in a state of *dynamical* equilibrium, and probably all the systems, as a whole, are subject to similar conditions. We call them *fixed* stars because they seem to unaided observation to sustain invariable relative situations with respect to one another. Indeed, if we could be placed back to the time of Hipparchus, or even of Homer, we could scarcely distinguish with the naked eye any difference between the appearance of the heavens as they were then, and as they are now. All this is owing to their extremely slow apparent motion, which results from their immense distance from us.

The origin of stellar astronomy may be said to date from Galileo, an inventor of the telescope, and the first, or one of the first, to apply it to astronomical purposes. Upon the establishment of the true system of the world by Copernicus, the problem of the absolute distances of the fixed stars became one of the most interesting and one of the most important, since the motion of the earth around the sun, if it existed, re-

quired an apparent and annual motion of the stars to take place. Since none could be perceived, it followed that either the stars were immensely distant, or the earth did not move. Years afterwards, when other proofs of the earth's annual motion were found to exist and to manifest themselves, the very great absolute distance of the stars was no longer a question, but it became a certainty. Galileo suggested a method of discovering an annual parallax* by observing a double star, one of the companions of which was much smaller than the other, and, therefore, it might be presumed, much more distant. This method has in recent times received more than one successful application.

Another mode, and one not founded on a parallactic displacement of the stars was the measurement of the apparent diameters of the stars, and supposing them of the same absolute magnitude of the sun, ascertain by calculation how many times its present distance the latter luminary would have to be removed to be reduced in appearance to such stars. Here, again, almost insuperable difficulties had to be surmounted; for the measurement of the apparent diameter of a star was found to be as difficult a work as the detection of its parallax; and observation has since proved it to be still more so. It is true, however, that the earlier astronomers supposed the principal stars to possess an apparent diameter equal to two or three minutes of arc. Tycho Brahé, the most accurate observer of his time (the latter half of the sixteenth century,) estimated the apparent diameter of the stars of the first magnitude, at two minutes; those of the second magnitude at one and a half minutes; those of the third, at one and a twelfth; those of the fourth, at three-fourths; those of the fifth, at one-half, and those of the sixth, at one-third of a minute.† As soon as the telescope was applied to the observation of the stars, it showed that the diameter which they appeared to have, was, in a great measure, spurious, being due to the diffraction of light. Galileo, in measuring the apparent diameter of *Alpha Lyrae*, at-

* *Opere di Galileo*, tome iv., p. 272, and *Annuaire pour 1842*, p. 382.

† *Progymnasmato*, p. 482.

tempted to get rid of the effects of irradiation, and he so far succeeded as to reduce the apparent diameter of that star to five seconds of arc*—an approximation to the true result that far exceeded any other that had hitherto been made. The sun's apparent diameter is three hundred and eighty-four times as great as Galileo made that of *Alpha Lyre*, and therefore the distance of the latter would exceed the former in the same ratio if their absolute magnitudes were equal.

In regard to the absolute determination of the stellar parallax, it has already been mentioned that the earlier astronomers were wholly unsuccessful. Copernicus, with truly philosophical consideration, attributed the absence of all sensible indication of parallax, to the immense distance of the stars as compared with the diameter of the earth's orbit. Tycho Brahé, with far better measuring instruments than any other astronomer of his day, was unable to detect the least trace of an annual variation of the position of any star. Since he supposed the apparent diameter of the larger stars to be about two minutes, he concluded that their real magnitude far exceeded the diameter of the earth's orbit, which was, to his mind, an absurdity so great as to be fatal, according to his view, to the truth of the Copernican system of the universe. Notwithstanding that Galileo pointed out a practicable, and as we have before mentioned, what has since proved to be a successful, method of detecting an annual parallax, namely, the annual variation of the relative distance of the two members of a double star, one of which is much smaller, and therefore, it may be presumed, much more distant than the other, it does not appear that he ever attempted to put it into practice.

It seems that the celebrated Robert Hooke was the first to employ the telescope for the purpose of detecting an annual parallax of some of the fixed stars. In order to avoid the effects of atmospheric refraction (the exact amount of which is too uncertain when it is necessary to allow for it,) he confined his attention to the star *Gamma Draconis*, which passes near

* *Opere di Galileo*, tome iv., p. 259.

the zenith of Gresham College, London, where his observatory was situated.*

According to Horrebon,† Roemer observed in the years 1692-3 a series of irregularities in the declinations of the stars, which could not be accounted for by parallax or refraction, but which he supposed to arise from a variation in the position of the earth's axis. It is altogether probable that we here again have exhibited the effects of aberration.

With a view of verifying the results of Hooke's observations on *Gamma Draconis*, Molyneux, an amateur of astronomy, towards the close of the year 1725, resolved to undertake a series of observations on the same star. For this purpose he employed Graham, the distinguished mechanic, to construct for him a large zenith sector which he erected at Kew, the place of his residence. On the 3d of December of that year the first observation on the star was made as it passed the zenith. Similar observations were made on the 5th, 11th, and 12th days of the same month, but there appearing no material difference in the place of the star, no further observations seemed to be necessary at that season of the year, since no parallax could be expected to be perceptible in that star then.

"It was chiefly, therefore, curiosity that tempted me. (being then at Kew, where the instrument was fixed,") says Bradley,‡ "to prepare for observing the star on December 17, when, having adjusted the instrument as usual, I perceived that it passed a little more southerly this day than when it was observed before. Not suspecting any other cause of this appearance, we first concluded that it was owing to the uncertainty of the observations, and that either this or the foregoing were not so exact as we had before supposed, for which reason we proposed to repeat the observation again, in order to determine from whence this difference

* It is evident that a star when viewed from opposite sides of the earth's orbit, a space of one hundred and eighty-three million miles, will appear in different directions, unless it be at an infinite distance from us. The fact that the apparent change of place is so small, shows that the stars are at a very great distance from us.

† *Basis Astronomiæ*, p. 66.

‡ "In a letter from the Rev. Mr. James Bradley, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and F. R. S., to Dr. Edmond Halley, Astronom. Reg., etc., giving an account of a new discovered motion of the fixed stars." *Phil. Trans. R. S.*, No. 406. December, 1728.

proceeded, and upon doing it, on December the 20th, I found that the star passed still more southerly than on the former observations. This sensible alteration the more surprised us, in that it was the contrary way from what it would have been had it proceeded from an annual *parallax* of the star; but being now pretty well satisfied that it could not be entirely owing to the want of exactness in the observations, and having no notion of anything else that could cause such an apparent motion as this in the star, we began to think that some change in the material, etc., of the instrument itself might have occasioned it."

Molyneux and Bradley remained in doubt for some time, but having by several trials fully convinced themselves of the great exactness of the instrument, and that the star's distance from the pole was gradually increasing, they became satisfied that the phenomenon was caused by some regular law. They then carefully measured the distance of the star from the pole at each observation, and about the beginning of March, 1726, it was found to be twenty seconds more southerly than at the first observation. This distance seemed to be its limit, for they could discover no further increase; but by the middle of the following April, it was found to be returning towards the north, and by the beginning of June it had reached the same distance from the pole that it was in the December previous when they began to observe it.

Since it now moved towards the north with considerable rapidity (a second in three days,) it was conjectured that it would now continue in that direction as it had before moved southerly, and such proved to be the case; for it proceeded northerly till the September following, when its polar distance was about twenty seconds less than in June. It now became stationary again, and then returned towards the south, and in December it again reached the position which it occupied a year previously, allowing for the precession of the equinoxes.

We have now followed the star through its annual period as observed by Bradley and Molyneux. The cause of this interesting phenomenon now engaged their thoughts. They at one time thought that a permutation of the earth's axis might cause it. Although that would explain the apparent motion of *Gamma Draconis*, yet it was soon found to be insufficient to ex-

plain the phenomena which the other stars exhibited, for they all passed through a similar annual period, at least so far as their observations extended. In order to examine the phenomenon more at his leisure, and to study the law of it, Bradley employed the same Mr. Graham to make him an instrument, which was erected at Wansted, August the 19th, 1727. His telescope was twelve and a half feet in length, a little more than half that of Molyneux's. Bradley now extended his observations to other stars, Capella among them. Various hypotheses were tried and rejected, and Mr. Molyneux died before the true cause was discovered. "At last I conjectured," says Bradley, "that all the phenomena hitherto mentioned proceeded from the progressive motion of light and the earth's annual motion in its orbit, for I perceived that, if light was propagated in time, the apparent place of a fixed object would not be the same when the eye is at rest, as when it is moving in any other direction than that of the line passing through the eye and object, and that when the eye is moving in different directions the apparent place of the object would be different." The true cause was suggested to Bradley's mind one day while sailing about on the Thames, when he observed that every time the boat tacked, the direction of the wind, estimated by the direction of the vane, seemed to change.

Bradley gave the name *aberration* to the phenomena, the history of the discovery of which we have just given, and the name is still retained. This discovery is universally and justly regarded as one of the most important in the whole range of astronomical science. Even if Bradley had left us no other important results of his labors, the sagacity which he showed in discovering the phenomenon and explaining its true cause, would be sufficient to place him among the greatest philosophers of any age or country. This discovery demonstrated the truth of the Copernican system of astronomy, and confirmed Roemer's discovery of the progressive motion of light. It also cleared up some doubtful observations made to determine the annual parallax of the fixed stars. Bradley was of the opinion that if the parallax of *Gamma Draconis* had amounted to so much as one second of arc, his observations with the zenith

sector would have shown it.* These observations of Bradley and Molyneux proved that the annual parallax of the fixed stars, if, indeed, they exhibited any at all, was vastly less than had hitherto been supposed.

The invention of the micrometer somewhere about 1640, by William Gascoigne,† a young man who was the friend of Horrocks and Crabtree, seemed to increase the practical utility of the method of Galileo, to which we have already referred, for fixing the parallax of the fixed stars. James Gregory, probably without any knowledge that Galileo had first suggested the method of double stars for determining the parallax of these bodies, in a letter‡ to Collins, Secretary of the Royal Society, recommends this same method, and the use of the micrometer in testing it. Huygens seems, however, to have been the first that made an application of it. He says¶ that it was in vain that he attempted to find a measurable relative parallax of Zeta Ursæ Majoris, by this method. Dr. Long subsequently attempted to find the relative parallax of several other double stars, but he was wholly unsuccessful.** But in all these cases the components in each case were nearly equal, and the negative results are no proof that these stars have no absolute parallax, since it is reasonable to presume that each of the two stars is at nearly the same distances from the earth.

In the early part of Sir William Herschel's career he turned his attention to the subject of the annual parallax of the stars.†† He readily saw the great advantage of Galileo's method, and undertook to make an application of it. He was unsuccessful in his original object, but his observations are memorable in the history of astronomy as establishing the existence of a physical connection between the companions of double stars.

About the beginning of the present century, Piazzì endeavored to measure the parallax of some of the fixed stars by

* *Phil. Trans.* for 1728, p. 637.

† Grant's *Hist. Phys. Ast.*, p. 450.

‡ Dated June 24, 1673. Birch's *Hist. Roy. Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 225.

¶ *Cosmotheros*, p. 134.]

** Long's *Astronomy*, vol. i., p. 322. 1742.

†† *Phil. Trans.*, 1792, p. 82, et seq. *Annuaire*, 1842, p. 381.

means of their declinations. His results gave Sirius a parallax of four seconds, and Procyon three seconds. Both these values we now know to be much too large. Not many years afterwards Dr. Brinkley endeavored to detect a sensible parallax in some of the principal stars, by a series of observations by means of a fine altitude and azimuth circle designed and partly executed by Ramsden, at the observatory of Dublin. His results seemed to indicate the existence of a parallax in some of the stars, amounting to some seconds. Pond, the Astronomer Royal, disputed his conclusions, and a controversy arose between them.* It is now known that Pond was right.

During the period of three years, from 1818 to 1821, M. Struve made a series of observations on the circum-polar stars visible from Derpat, with a view of detecting an annual parallax in some of them. His observations seemed to indicate a very small parallactic change in several instances, but it was not of sufficient magnitude (and hence might have been the result of erroneous corrections of some kind) to make it certain that the change was the result of parallax, and his deductions did not command the confidence of the scientific world, notwithstanding the great ability of the observer.

In the year 1835, M. Struve commenced a series of observations on *Alpha Lyrae*, with a view of determining its parallax. His method was to measure with a micrometer the distance of the star from a very small star situated at the distance of about forty-three seconds from it, repeating the observations at different times throughout the year. His result gave to the larger star a relative parallax of $0''.261$ †

As long ago as 1812 Arago and Mathieu made a series of observations on 61 Cygni for the purpose of determining its parallax. They measured its altitude above the horizon of Paris in the month of August, and in the following November. "At the latter period its altitude only exceeded that of the former by $0''.66$. An absolute parallax of only a single second would necessarily have occasioned a difference of $1''.2$ between

* See Phil. Transactions for 1810-17-18-21-23-24.

† Grant's *Hist. of Physical Astronomy*, p. 551.

these heights. Our observations do not therefore show that a semidiameter of the earth's orbit, or thirty-nine million leagues, are seen from the star 61 Cygni, under an angle of more than $0''.5$.^{*} The great proper motion of this star[†] led astronomers to think that its distance from the earth must be comparatively small, and this induced the late Professor Bessel to undertake to measure its parallax. "After so many unsuccessful attempts to determine the parallax of a fixed star," says Professor Bessel, "I thought it worth while to try what might be accomplished by means of the accuracy which my great Fraunhofer heliometer gives to the observations. I undertook to make this investigation upon the star 61 Cygni, which, by reason of its great proper motion, is perhaps the best of all, which affords the advantage of being a double star, and on that account may be observed with greater accuracy, and which is so near the pole that, with the exception of a small part of the year, it can always be observed at night at a sufficient distance from the horizon." The work was begun in September, 1834, but circumstances prevented him from continuing it regularly at that period.

It has been estimated that the average distance of the stars of the first magnitude is such as to require fifteen and one-half years for light to come from them to the earth, twenty eight years for it to reach us from a star of the second magnitude, forty-three years from one of the the third, and so on till it requires thirty-five hundred years for light to come from an average star of the twelfth magnitude. For the smallest stars distinctly visible to the naked eye, it requires about one hundred and twenty five years for the passage of light.

Some recent speculations[‡] on the constitution of the Milky Way, based, it would seem, on as good foundation as the generally received views (Herschel's,) lead us to a somewhat different estimate in regard to the probable distances of the

* Arago, in the *Connaissance des Temps pour 1834*, p. 281.

† It has an annual proper motion of more than five seconds of arc.

‡ See *Monthly Notices, R. A. Soc.*, Vol. xxx, pp. 50-56, which contains a paper by R. A. Proctor, on "A New Theory of the Milky Way," December, 1869.

stars of the different orders of magnitude. Indeed, we have seen in the values of the stellar parallaxes which we have already given, that the distances of the stars do not follow the order of their apparent magnitude. The larger stars are not among the nearer ones, except in a few instances. Sirius, the largest of all the stars, is situated much farther from us in the regions of space, than 61 *Cygni*, a star of the fifth magnitude. *Alpha Cygni*, a star between the first and second magnitudes, does not exhibit the least sign of a measurable parallax. Mr. Proctor thinks it not altogether improbable that a parallactic change may yet be discovered among the telescopic stars in certain regions of the Milky Way.

If the sun is but an immense mass of fire, as recent researches show, the question naturally arises, does its light vary in intensity? The light of the sun is so great that it is difficult to determine by actual measurement whether it varies or not; but since dark spots sometimes exist on its surface in considerable numbers, we know that they *do* diminish the amount of light which the sun gives out. The stars being suns, as we have seen, does not their light vary in intensity? To determine this point a method suggests itself as follows: Observe any number of stars with all possible accuracy, in respect to their relative amount of light, and arrange them in a table according to the letters of the alphabet, the brightest being represented by *a*, the next in order by *b*, and so on to the end. Some time afterwards observe them again and re-arrange them in another table; a comparison of the two tables will show whether the light of any of the stars has changed, relatively.*

The method to which we have just referred, is that pursued by Sir William Herschel. It is, in the main, the same as that of which Bayer made use in 1603. This astronomer designated by *a*, the first letter of the Greek alphabet, the brightest star in a constellation; by *β*, the second letter, the next star in the order of brightness, and so on till the whole alphabet was exhausted, and then he employed the Roman letters in the same

* See Arago's *Analyse de la vie et des travaux de Sir William Herschel*, Annuaire pour 1842, p. 282. Thus, the letters may be changed from *abcd* to *acbd*.

order. This notation is so convenient that it has been since generally followed by succeeding astronomers, and when the letters of both alphabets are not sufficient to represent all the stars in a constellation which it is necessary to designate in this manner, they use the numerals, 1, 2, 3, and so forth. If we could now be certain that Bayer has correctly represented the order of brightness in his maps of the constellations published at the above date, they would be very valuable for determining the change, if any, in the relative intensity of the light of the stars. There can be little doubt that the first three or four orders of magnitude *were* as he represented them.

Sir William Herschel has given in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1796 the results at which he had arrived in an examination of several of the constellations. In Boötes, Leo, Draco, Cygnus, Hercules, Cassiopeia, Cancer, Aquila, Cetus, the Triangle, Sagittarius, Andromeda, and Capricornus, he found that the order of brightness had changed in some of the stars. Some statements of the ancients have been adduced to confirm the conclusion of modern astronomers respecting the variability of the light of the stars. Arago has pointed out this passage from Eratosthenes, relating to the stars in Scorpio: "They are preceded by the most beautiful of all, the brilliancy of the northern clan." But now the northern clan is less brilliant than the southern one, and especially than Antares."* Some change has, therefore, taken place in Scorpio since the time of Eratosthenes. Other instances might be mentioned, but the statements of poets are generally too vague or uncertain to be relied on for astronomical purposes.

Arago has pointed out † several instances of stars which have diminished in brightness since the dates of reliable records of their magnitudes. For instance, β of the constellation Leo was classed by Mayor among stars of the first magnitude, but it is now inferior to many stars of the second. Other stars have been noticed, whose intensity of light has increased, and it is still, probably, augmenting.‡ Thus, the star number 31

* *Annuaire pour* 1842, p. 306.

† *Ibid*, pp. 306-308.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 309-310.

of the constellation Draco, was of the seventh magnitude towards the end of the 17th century, according to Flamsteed; but when Herschel published his memoir * it was of the fourth.

We have now adduced sufficient evidence to show that the intensity of the light of some of the stars, at least, varies; that some of them diminish in magnitude, and that others increase. These stars, then, must either reach an order of magnitude at which they will remain permanent, or they will continue to change in the same direction till the one class have entirely disappeared from the heavens, and the other approximate more and more nearly to the lustre of the sun itself, till the celestial sphere is illuminated by several solar orbs, or else—and which for the generality of the cases is much the most probable—the change in the intensity of their light is really periodical, decreasing for a time and then returning to the former order of brightness. Indeed, observation has shown us that certain stars do pass through regular periods of change—periods that for each individual is not always of a constant length, but none the less to be classed as *periodical stars*, as they are technically called.

Some of these variable stars pass through their usual changes of brightness in short spaces of time, while others require a great length of time to pass through their periods. The first recorded observation of a periodical star dates back two centuries and three quarters. On the 13th of August, 1596, David Fabricius† discovered a star in the neck of the Whale (the constellation Cetus), which he found to be variable. It disappeared in the October following, and Kepler therefore classed it among the new stars, like the celebrated star of 1572 observed by Tycho Brahé. The extraordinary changes of brightness through which it was afterwards found to pass, procured it the name *Mira Ceti*, or the “wonderful star of 1596.”

A great number of stars have been recognized by modern astronomers as subject to variations of brightness, similar to what *Mira Ceti* exhibits. Owing to the shortness of its period Algal, or Beta Persei, is perhaps one of the most remarkable

* *Phil. Trans.* 1796. The observation was really made in 1783.

† Kepler, *De Stella Nova*, cap. xxii., p. 112.

of any yet discovered. It was first noticed as subject to singular fluctuations of brightness by Geminiano Montanari in 1667, and afterwards by Maraldi; but the period and law of its variations were determined by Goodricke who commenced his observations on it in 1782. This observer, by continuing for some time to watch its phases of brightness, found that it remained a star of about the second magnitude for two days, thirteen hours and three quarters, after which it descended to the fourth magnitude in the short space of three and a half hours, and then regained its former brightness in an equal space of time, thus completing its period in two days, twenty hours and three quarters.* Flamsteed observed it in the year 1696 as a star of the third magnitude, and from this Goodricke was enabled to fix the period of this star more accurately at 2 d. 20 h. 48 m.†

Various causes have been imagined at different times to account for the variability in the intensity of the light of the periodical stars, but nothing satisfactory has yet been arrived at that will give a complete explanation of this remarkable phenomenon of the stellar universe. Indeed, there is scarcely a more wonderful appearance presented by any of the celestial bodies, than the changes in the brilliancy of the so-called fixed stars. Since they shine by their own native light, they are almost certainly suns to other planetary systems, whose worlds are peopled, it is reasonable to suppose, with sentient and intelligent beings. What, then, we may ask, is the effect on the inhabitants of so great a change in the amount of light which the central body sends out? These are questions in which we, as beings that inhabit a physical world, have an interest, since there may exist a possibility that *our* sun will one day be subject to similar mutations of light, accompanied probably by like changes in its radiant heat.

Since the sun rotates on an axis, it is highly probable that all similarly constituted bodies also revolve in the same manner; and as the sun has dark spots on its surface, the stars also very probably have. The solar spots are subject to periodical

* Phil. Trans., 1783, p. 474.

† Ibid, 1784, p. 289.

returns in respect to number and area, and will not a similar periodicity in the stellar spots account for the variations in the periods of some periodical stars? According to geologists, this earth was once a molten mass, which was crusted over in the process of cooling. The sun is a similar, though larger body, and unless its heat is kept up by some foreign force, it, too, will crust over and its light go out! Is it not probable that among the infinitude of stars that make up the visible universe, some are partially crusted over, and afford only a comparatively small amount of light from such side? "The rotary motion of stars upon their axis," says Sir William Herschel, "is a capital feature in their resemblance to the sun. It appears to me now, that we cannot refuse to admit such a motion, and that, indeed, it may be as evidently proved as the diurnal motion of the earth. Dark spots, or large portions of the surface less luminous than the rest, traversed alternately in certain directions, either towards or from us, will account for all the phenomena of periodical changes in the lustre of the stars, so satisfactorily, that we certainly need not look out for any other cause." This is the hypothesis of Bouillaud.* Maupertius supposed that some of the stars are so flattened at the poles by their rapid rotation as to be reduced to disks, and when seen edgeways would become invisible.

There is still another class of variable stars which are called *temporary stars*, from the fact that they generally appear rather suddenly, and after shining for a while, gradually grow fainter, until they disappear, at least to the naked eye. The first recorded temporary star is that of 134 B.C., as recorded in the Chinese annals, translated by M. Edward Biot.† The last one is that which shone out in 1866 in the constellation of the Northern Crown. In 1572, as is well known, a very remarkable one was seen in Cassiopeia by Tycho Brahe and others. Tycho published a work especially devoted to this star. It was so bright as to be visible in the daytime. It shone for seventeen months, when it disappeared to the naked eye. It is much to

* *Annuaire pour* 1842, p. 343.

† *Connaissance de Temps pour* 1846, p. 61.

be regretted that the telescope was not then invented. Tycho determined its position as exactly as possible, but the telescope now shows no object there that we can suppose to be that star. There is some probability, however, that it is still visible as a telescopic star, though it presents no phenomena by which it may be recognized.

About the 12th of May, 1866, several individuals saw a new star in the constellation of the Northern Crown, which was at that time as bright as Alpha Coronæ, a star of the second magnitude. Mr. Charles A. Schott observed the star the last of May, and found it a little below the eighth magnitude, so that it did not long remain visible to the naked eye.* Fortunately, not only the telescope was invented before the appearance of this star, but that wonderful instrument, the *spectroscope*, also, was known, and the observations upon this new star (it is now known as the T Corona) with that instrument, taught us more in regard to the cause of the sudden bursting forth of such stars, than all the observations that had formerly been made upon them. According to the observations of Mr. Huggins and Professor Miller, who examined the star on the 16th of May, when it was not much below the third magnitude, it presented two spectrums, one of them continuous, like those of the sun and stars, and the other composed of four bright lines. These two spectrums indicate two distinct sources of light. The spectrum of bright lines was formed by luminous gas. "These facts," says Mr. Huggins,† "taken in connection with the suddenness of the outburst of light in the star, and its immediate very rapid decline in brightness *from the second magnitude down to the eighth magnitude in twelve days*, suggested to us the startling speculation that *the star had become suddenly enwrapt in the flames of burning hydrogen*. In consequence, it may be, of some great convulsion, enormous quantities of gas were set free. A large part of this gas consisted of hydrogen, which was burning about the star in combination with some other element. This flaming gas emitted the light represented by the spectrum of bright lines.

* Dr. Gould in *Silliman's Journal*, xlii., pp. 80-83.

† See Smithsonian Report for 1866, p. 203.

The increased brightness of the spectrum of the other part of the star's light may show that this fierce gaseous conflagration had heated to a more vivid incandescence the solid matter of the photosphere. As the free hydrogen became exhausted, the flames gradually abated; the photosphere became less vivid, and the star waned down to its former brightness." This star was formerly recorded as of the ninth magnitude.*

Some stars which formerly occupied a place in the heavens are no longer to be seen. Some of these missing stars have their origin, no doubt, in mistaken entries, but there is no question but that some stars, which were once visible, have entirely disappeared, to return or not to return, as yet, we cannot say. We shall give only one instance. The 55th star of the constellation of Hercules placed in the neck of the figure, was inserted in the catalogue of Flamsteed as a star of the fifth magnitude. The 10th of October, 1781, Sir William Herschel saw it distinctly and noted it as *red*; the 11th of April, 1782, he observed it again and inscribed it in his journal as an ordinary star. The 24th of May, 1791, however, there remained not a trace of it. He again attempted to find it the next evening, but the result was the same.

The extraordinary changes which have taken place in the sidereal heavens, of which we have given an account, lead us to enquire into the physical constitution of the stars. If it were not for the spectroscope, however, and certain well established principles of modern spectrum analysis, we should be unable to give any direct information on this subject beyond the fact that they shine by their own native light. Analogy would lead us to conclude that the fixed stars are physically constituted like the sun, and it has been but little more than ten years that our knowledge has gone beyond this.

The general principles of *spectrum analysis* may be given in a few words. Solid and liquid bodies, when highly heated, give a continuous spectrum without lines. Flame or luminous gas, in which solid or liquid substances are volatilized, give a spectrum crossed with bright lines. Each substance in the flame

* Lockyer, *Elem. Les. in Astron.*, p. 22.

gives a line or a series of lines peculiar to itself, so that the presence of the substance in a flame may be known by inspecting the spectrum of the flame. When a bright beam of light from a solid or liquid behind a flame that is producing bright lines is sent through this flame, the bright lines are changed into dark ones. These dark lines are called the reverse, or the negative lines of the substance in the flame. The spectra of the sun and stars are crossed by dark lines. When solid or liquid bodies reduced to a state of gas, or any gas itself, burns, the spectrum consists of bright lines only, and these bright lines are different for different substances. It is necessary to make many experiments on different substances in order to determine the nature and position of the lines in the spectrum which each produces. By an application of these principles, it has been proved that the sun and stars are highly heated (probably burning) bodies, containing many (possibly all others besides) of the substances which are found in the earth. Thus *Sirius* contains sodium, magnesium, iron, and hydrogen; *Alpha Lyrae* contains sodium, magnesium, and iron; *Pollux* contains the same; *Alpha Orionis* contains sodium, magnesium, calcium, iron, and bismuth. Observations upon some of the variable stars show that in some cases, at least, certain lines show that the spectrum disappears during some stages of the period of variation. Much yet remains to be done in this department of spectroscopic astronomy.

From what has preceded, the reader cannot fail to have concluded that catalogues of the fixed stars, in which the exact positions of the stars, for a given epoch, are recorded, would be of high importance in an astronomical point of view. Catalogues possess an importance which arises from two distinct causes. First, an accurate stellar catalogue furnishes points of reference in observing the places, at any time, of the several bodies which revolve around the sun. In the second place, it is the groundwork of stellar astronomy; for, by comparing catalogues constructed at different dates, the astronomer can ascertain the proper motion of the stars; whether new stars have appeared or old ones are missing; and, in short, the physical changes that may have taken place in the sidereal heavens

The most celebrated astronomer of antiquity, Hipparchus, was the first individual, of whom we have any account, that formed a catalogue of the principal fixed stars visible to the naked eye. Pliny informs us that, he was induced to enter upon this undertaking by the sudden appearance of a new star in his time. His catalogue has not come down to us, but it is certain that he observed the latitude and longitude of upwards of a thousand stars, and arranged the results in a catalogue. That given by Ptolemy in his *Almagest* is the earliest one that has come down to us. It contains the latitudes and longitudes of 1,028 stars, arranged in forty-eight constellations. The epoch of the catalogue is the first year of the reign of the Emperor Antonius, or the year 138 A.D. There is some probability that this catalogue is only that of Hipparchus reduced (for the precession of the equinoxes) to the time of Ptolemy.

The catalogue of the Tartar prince, Ulugh Beigh, is the next in chronological order. Finding that the positions of the stars, as assigned by Ptolemy, were, in many instances, incorrect, he resolved to form a new catalogue from his own observations. It contains 1,019 stars. The epoch is 1437 A.D. The celebrated observer, Tycho Brahé, was the next, in the order of time, to form a catalogue. It contains 777 stars, for the epoch 1600 A.D. He published it in his great work, *Astronomiæ Instauratæ Progymnasmata*, published in 1602. Kepler afterwards enlarged it to 1,005 stars, from Tycho's observations, and published it at the end of the *Rudolphius Tables*, in the year 1627.*

Halley, Hevelius, and Flamsteed formed catalogues in succession. Bradley observed many stars, but no catalogue was formed from them during his lifetime. The late M. Bessel published, in 1818, his *Fundamenta Astronomiæ*, which contains a catalogue of 3,112 stars formed from all of Bradley's observations made between the years 1750 and 1762. Other astronomers published catalogues at different times. Maske-lyne published a fundamental catalogue of thirty-six stars in the *Greenwich Observations*, which was by far the most accurate of any hitherto published.

* Brewster's *Martyrs of Science*, p. 224.

Bessel made no fewer than 75,000 observations on the positions of stars from the first to the ninth magnitude, between the parallels of 15° south declination and 45° north declination. The task of reducing the observations was performed by Professor Weisse, of Cracow, for all the observed stars situated between the parallels of 15° north, and of 15° south declination. This work was published in 1846, at the expense of the Academy of Sciences, of St. Petersburg. This catalogue contains 31,895 star positions. M. Argelander has followed up Bessel's undertaking by observing the stars lying between the parallels of 45° and of 80° of north declination. The number of stars is about 22,000. The Royal Astronomical Society,* and the British Association have each published catalogues of stars. The latter catalogue contains 8,377 positions of stars. It was published in 1845. The epoch is January 1, 1850. The British Association catalogue is distinguished from that of the Astronomical Society in several important particulars. The most accurate known value of the proper motion of each star is given, and the secular variation of the precessions of the equinoxes. This catalogue has been of great service to astronomers.

Besides those to which we have now referred, many more might be mentioned. A few years ago Dr. B. A. Gould † published a carefully prepared catalogue of forty-eight north circum-polar stars, made up from the observations of different astronomers. A catalogue of 1,963 stars and 293 double stars, observed by the U. S. Naval Astronomical Expedition to the southern hemisphere, during the years 1850-51-52, is published in the volume of the Washington Astronomical Observations for 1868.‡ We have now given enough to show the importance attached to accurate star catalogues by astronomers. By re-observing the stars of a catalogue, many of the *Asteroids* have been discovered.

It has already been mentioned that Sir William Herschel, in attempting to determine the parallax of the fixed stars by

* See volume ten of the *Memoirs*. † See his *Astronomical Journal*, Vol. vi.

‡ Appendix I., p. 73.

observations upon double stars whose components are unequal, unexpectedly discovered a physical connection existing between the components, and this phenomenon diverted his attention from his original object. Double stars were noticed soon after the application of the telescope to astronomical purposes. Riccioli remarked as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, that *Zeta Ursæ Majoris*, the middle star in the tail of the Great Bear, when observed with a telescope, was found to be two stars in close juxtaposition.* A few years afterwards Hooke made a similar remark in regard to Gamma Arietis. Other stars were also found to be double. The most natural explanation of the cause of a double star was, that one star is situated *beyond* the other, with no other connection than apparent position between them.

The celebrated John Michell was the first, it appears, to call attention to the fact that the companions of double stars may be physically connected.† In 1784 he expressed his firm conviction that the double and triple stars discovered by Herschel were systems, the components of which are so near as to be affected by their mutual gravitation; and he considered it as probable that at some future time a motion of revolution about their principals might be discovered.‡ Since Herschel's observations have proved the truth of Michell's prediction more than one known binary star; have completed a revolution about their common centre of gravity.

We have already mentioned that the law of universal gravitation requires all the bodies in the universe to be in motion; and the observed proper motion of the principal stars, which arises in part, however, from the motion of the solar system in space, proves that they conform to the requirements of that law.

We have now given a brief account of our knowledge respecting the stellar universe. On the one hand it may seem meagre, but on the other it can not but appear wonderful, when we consider that the objects of our investigations are

* *Almag. Nov.*, Vol. i, p. 422.

† *Phil. Trans.*, 1767, pp. 234-261.

‡ *Phil. Trans.*, 1784, p. 36. *et seq.*

enormously far away. We sometimes conceive of the physical universe as an immense forest surrounding a small open space which we have surveyed and have made ourselves tolerably well acquainted with, while we are able to penetrate into the surrounding forest but a short distance, and beyond all is obscure, and finally absolute darkness prevails and shuts out all the light from the great unknown beyond. But every year adds something more to the known; our surveys reach out a little farther; and although we can never hope to penetrate to the boundary, but must always content ourselves with the view taken by Laplace, that "what we know is but little, and that which we do not know is immense," yet constant labor will extend the domain of the mind almost indefinitely.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

1. *Sartor Resartus*. By THOMAS CARLYLE.
2. *The Life of John Sterling*. By THOMAS CARLYLE.
3. *The French Revolution; a History*. By THOMAS CARLYLE. 3 vols.
New York: Scribner, Welford, & Co. 1870.

THE writings of Mr. Carlyle once made somewhat of a sensation in this country among a certain class of persons—mostly socialist philosophers, who probably imagined that in his incomprehensible utterances was hidden a mysterious depth of wisdom. There were a journal or two, which, when not assured of the efficacy of calling an opponent a liar or a fool, would proceed to attempt his absolute demolition by firing at him a missile of inscrutable Carlylean bombast. The unhappy man, if not seriously injured, would probably be stunned by the noise. "On account of *this*, O Hermes, which differs but little from brass."* It is even so, astonished reader, though we do not wonder that you repeat Charon's question. The days when the unintelligible and the oracular were at all in vogue in this country seem to have passed, for of late we seldom see a quotation from Carlyle. Whether it was not rather his outspoken denunciations of republicanism, what a certain agriculturalist calls his "melancholy decline and fall into devil-worship," rather than a perception of his other defects, which caused the loss of *prestige* among his former followers is a matter of conjecture. Whatever the cause, we doubt if the republication of his works at this time will prove a profitable speculation.

At the time of the appearance of "*Sartor Resartus*" a British periodical asserted that there were probably not three men in England who could fathom the occult reasoning of that production. The thought was naturally suggested, What is the use of writing and publishing a book for not more than three individuals? Where is the honesty in asking a paying number of people to buy and read a work which can do them no good? If the author intended his effort for the instruction of future generations, why not, like a certain eminent Englishman, leave it in manuscript, with directions in his will that it should not be published until such time after his death as he might presume a sufficient proportion of mankind would be prepared to appreciate it? But then, Mr. Carlyle does not believe in human progress; and

* *Διὰ τοῦτο, ὦ Ἑρμῆς, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ χαλκοῦ διαφέρει*—Lucan, *Charon*.

unless the world can go backward, if the wheels of time cannot be reversed, he has no hope of being understood. In that case, we say, why write at all, since the human race is predestined, in his opinion, to retrograde? Probably he relied upon the unintelligibility of his grotesque expatiations to induce the public to believe there was something in them, and to buy, read, and quote them accordingly. In this he has, to a certain extent, calculated shrewdly, and his contemptuous opinion of mankind is partly justified. He believes that the dwellers on this planet must deteriorate like the race who lived on the borders of the Dead Sea, and who, according to the Mohammedan legend, would not listen to the counsels of Moses, and were consequently changed into apes.*

"Sartor Resartus" is his most characteristic work; its title should have been adopted as his motto. He believes in patching up old systems. He puts new wine into old bottles, new cloth on old garments. His wine is sparkling and "heady," but the bottles in which he hoards it are certain to burst; his cloth is sometimes of fair texture, though poorly dressed, but it is utterly wasted by being devoted to useless patch-work. There may not be enough of it for a complete suit, perhaps not sufficient for a coat, but then let him make a waistcoat; if that cannot be done, it might at least be condensed and refined to produce a becoming humanitarian necktie. But he casts what pearls of wit and learning he may have before those whom he regards as swine, but who, instead of turning again and rending him, as he ought to expect, have given him liberal grunts of approval, and a share of their husks.

Our chief objection to the tendency of his writings is his want of humanitarian sympathy, his belief in a ruling class, and his toadyism of external and apparent success. There are scattered throughout his writings many sentences like the following which caused some to believe that he actually had faith in democracy:

"But after all, the Gospel of Dilettantism, producing a Governing Class, who do not govern, nor understand in the least that they are bound or expected to govern, is still mournfuler than that of Mammonism."—*Past and Present*, B. III., c. 3.

If his admirers in this country had looked more understandingly into even his earlier writings they would have discovered that he was very far from avowing a disbelief in aristocracy but was only discouraged by the quality of it displayed in this age. That there is not a genuine oligarchy that would remorselessly cut the throats of millions, if necessary, to show what contemptible cattle they are, is evidence that this is, to use his own expression, "a godless century looking back upon centuries that were godly.† He is sure that,

"Faith is gone out; scepticism is come in. Evil abounds and accumulates; no man has faith to withstand it, to amend it, to begin by amending himself; it must even go on accumulating."—*French Revolution*, B. I., c. 2.

* See *Past and Present*, Book III., c. 3, and the Introduction to Sale's Koran.

† *Past and Present*, B. IV., c. 1.

For those struggling against the oppressive power of privileged classes, for the laboring, generally uncared-for, suffering people he has no word of genuine sympathy, but regards their troubles and their complaints as fit subjects for ridicule, and often for brutal derision. Witness his "manhood suffrage, horsehood, doghood ditto," his prescription for the woes of Ireland, and his remarks concerning the French people in connection with their late conflict with the Germans. In "Shooting Niagara," he gave the most direct and unmistakable expression of his selfish and restricted principles, though the "Ilias in Nuce," opened the eyes of some American believers in his good intentions. But, as we have before intimated, these more clearly-comprehensible utterances of later days are not evidence of a "decline and fall." He never had any faith in the people or sympathy with them. He has always believed in a totally absolute ruling class, though we must also acknowledge he insists that they should rule well—according to his ideas of what constitutes good government. It would be a strong and vigorous domination, an absolute hierarchy, like that of his Abbot of St. Edmund's, which he would approve. In respect to the revolution of 1848 he says:

"Everywhere immeasurable democracy rose monstrous, loud, blatant, inarticulate as the voice of Chaos."—*Lat et Day Pamphlets*, ("The Present Time")

What "immeasurable democracy" may be in Carlyleian parlance, we cannot tell, but the spirit of the sentence is manifest. It is what he calls the heroes, the men of birth, of ability, (to cut throats, at least), and of irrepressible determination who are to rule. For the rest, let them continue to be slaves, subject absolutely to the caprice of their masters, and not audaciously aspire towards improved conditions, still less for freedom and independence. As for rights, they have none but to serve the will of the more fortunate; if they dare assert any they should be put down by relentless force. In "Shooting Niagara," it is gravely recommended to the youthful scions of English nobility to draw their swords as did Cromwell and his followers, and remorselessly suppress this struggle for independence on the part of the "lower" classes. The following contains the animus of this pretended philosopher, and also illustrates his style. Probably its obscurity prevented most of his readers from seeing its drift:

"Great men are the inspired (speaking and acting) Texts of that divin-*Book of Revelations*, whereof a chapter is completed from epoch to epoch, and by some named *History*, to which inspired Texts your numerous talented men, and your innumerable untalented men are the better or worse exegetic Commentaries and wagonload of too stupid, heretical or orthodox weekly sermons."—*Sartor Resartus*, B. II., c. 8.

The style of this writer is quite as crude, reckless, and atrocious as his sentiments respecting human liberty. It is often an utterly chaotic gibberish. To the student who should be recommended to consult him

his language would be, *Ut si cæcus iter monstrari velit*. He has adopted the worst features of the German prose method, which is seldom creditable for perspicuity. He makes an abundant and ridiculous use of capitals, and what learning he has he pitches in, apparently pell mell, whenever it occurs to him, and without regard to appropriateness. He often uses Latin and French phrases when there are more apt English ones. From volumes at hand we will select some passages chosen almost at hap-hazard, for one cannot fail to find such expressions almost anywhere in his works.

"Surely also in some place, not of honor, stands or sprawls up querulous, that he too, though short may see,—one squibdest bleared mortal, redolent of soot and horse-drugs; Jean Paul Marat, of Neuchâtel! O Marat, Renovator of Human Science, Lecturer on Optics; O thou remarkablest Horseleech, once in D'Arrols' Stables,—as thy bleared soul looks forth through thy bleared, dull-acrid, wo-stricken face, what sees it in all this? Any faintest light of hope, like day-spring after Nova-Zembla night? Or is it but *blue* sulphur-light and spectres; no suspicion, revenge without end? * * * The huge, brawny figure, through whose black brows and rude flattened face (*figure décaillée*) there looks a waste energy as of Hercules not faribant,—he is an esurient, unprovided Advocate; Danton by name, him mark."—*French Revolution*, B. iv., c. 4.

Many writers have done abominably in the use of language, but Mr. Carlyle excels them all. His mannerism and repetitions of favorite and abused phrases are frequently nauseating. He is fond of closing sentences with a pronoun in an utterly unprecedented and uncouth manner; e. g. :

"A significant part of him." "What would these wild Norse souls have made of him." "The deep wild heart of him." (*Heroes*, &c. Lecture III.) "Doing what is in them." "What is possible for him." (*French Revolution* of this edition, vol. I., pp. 102 104.)

There are even more apparent absurdities, not only of manner but of sense, if the word were at all applicable. "What to do?" (*French Revolution*, p. 168) is a sentence by itself, and a specimen of many similar ones. So are these (*Ib.* p. 185.)

"Whence it cometh? Whither it goeth? These are questions!"

We might possibly have imagined that these were questions from the interrogation marks.

"ETERNITY; thither, of a truth, and not else, whither art thou and all things bound."—*Heroes*, &c. Lecture I.

Frightful! Eternity seems to be a locality, not an extension of existence, and we are to reach it and begin to live in it, somewhere in the future. To the credit of humanity Mr. Carlyle's style has had no imitators that we are aware of, unless it be in Walt. Whitman's "barbaric yawps." It is not that his manner is by any means inimitable. As Dr. Johnson said of McPherson's *Ossian*, any one could write in this way if he would only "abandon himself to it." He has little more to do than to take an English dictionary and a thesaurus, using also occasionally Latin and French lexicons, and pick out all the largest words, measur-

ing them with a rule; then throw them together helter-skelter, with a dim consciousness of an indefinite, mocking, misanthropic purpose to be served by the compound.

We are anxious not to do injustice to Mr. Carlyle. He has been an industrious writer, and has evidently studied much. Many of his thoughts are irreprehensible, and he frequently shows an appreciation of truthfulness and genuineness. His *Life of Schiller* and his essay on Burns have many really praiseworthy features. That he has ability makes it the more disgraceful that he should use it so badly. In sentiment, he seems to belong to the dark ages which he regards as so superior to the present.

This abuse of language is by some admired as daring. Perhaps it is, but equally commendable is the repudiation of law and defiance of custom which characterize our social revolutionists. This kind of hardihood is always esteemed by a certain class, and it is this, to a great extent, that has caused this writer to be liked by some. They do not reflect that a disregard for rule may be also indifference to decency. A genius may be above rules; if he is really so, his courage in defying law is praiseworthy. Mr. Carlyle is certainly not superior to our English models of style, and his independence of customary regulations, in this respect, is simply impudent. One who is little more than an idiot may burn a beautiful temple, but it requires a man of ability to build, or even to plan one. In short, both in manner and matter Mr. Carlyle is an unsafe guide, and the sooner his influence is counteracted, the better for humanity. The age needs to be taught, not constantly sneered at; to be treated sometimes, at least, with charity, not always with abuse. The future will crown the benefactors, not the revilers and caricaturists of the present.

L'Empire, les Bonapartes, et la Cour. Documents Nouveaux: Sur l'Histoire du Premier et du Second Empire, d'après les Papiers Impériaux Inédites. Publiés avec des Notes. Par JULES CLARETIE. 6mo., pp. 278. Paris, 1871.

ANYTHING is of present interest that relates to the Bonapartes or the court of the first and second empire. Whether the destruction of so many documents by the incendiaries will be an injury or a benefit to the world we will not judge. Enough of such papers have been saved to form several volumes, and a number have already been issued.

For really valuable historic materials there is not a great deal in this book, nor, indeed, in any similar publication that has met our eye. There are, however, many interesting papers, and a few that throw light upon past and contemporary events. M. Claretie has added notes,

some of which are needful to explain the documents to which they refer. He also indulges in comments which are not always judicious. He was, evidently, no great admirer of the late emperor, though he does not appear to be rancorous. He says that this is "not a work of injury or injustice" but an impartial effort in behalf of truth. We are ready to believe that he had no improper private ends to serve in this publication.

There is a great variety of papers in the publication, a large proportion of which would not be deemed worthy of notice did they relate to less eminent personages. Concerning the first Napoleon it would be expected that anything that could be really valuable would before this have been brought to light. We are here presented with the marriage articles of Napoleon and Josephine, various records of birth, and a number of letters from members of the Bonaparte family. We discover nothing noteworthy in the latter. The decree of the emperor annulling the marriage of his brother Jerome with Miss Patterson will be of interest in this country. Of more exciting consequence are the evidences respecting the *enlèvement* of Pius VII.

Concerning the second empire we are supplied with much that is trifling, with some curiosities, and a little that is really valuable. There are a number of comedies and extravaganzas played before the court, with other matters of that sort. A copy of Theophile Gautier's verses to the Empress contain two hitherto suppressed stanzas. The fragments of imputed memoirs of Talleyrand are worth something. There is a letter of M. de Grammont proposing to the emperor to buy the MSS. and posthumous works of Heinrich Heine, which were in a sealed packet and were offered for 30,000 francs. Among these MSS. were sixty seven poems against the King of Prussia, correspondence of Heine with Thiers, Guizot, Michelet, and others, and a work entitled Napoleon III. This last M. de Grammont says is "composé dans un mauvais esprit." Perhaps it was the fact thus stated that caused the following indorsement to be put upon the application: "*Refus, N.*" (p. 163). There is much said about the "Life of Caesar," with opinions and rehash of gossip by the editor, but the most of it might as well have been omitted. The "Secret report upon the condition of Russia after the attempt upon the Czar at St. Petersburg," is something for a curious public to get before its eyes.

There are more interesting documents relating to literary affairs than state papers in the book, a fact which we do not deplore. Alexander Dumas writes a characteristically independent letter to the emperor demanding a subscription for the "Theatre of the Prince Imperial," and subscribes, "J'ai l'honneur d'être avec respect, de l'auteur de *Cesar*, le très humble confrère." We are not assured that, in writing as an author, there is anything audacious in this address, though it has been commented upon as extremely egotistical. M. Claretie defends Dumas,

for which he has our approbation. It is curiosity-hunters mostly that will read this book. For the rest, after the extraction of a few papers, the remainder can be of no real service to anybody.

SCIENCE.

La Science pendant le Siège de Paris. Par U. ERNEST SAINT-EDME, Ex-Secrétaire du Comité Scientifique de Défense des Arrondissements de Paris, Professeur de Sciences Physiques à l'Ecole Supérieure du Commerce, etc. 12mo., pp. 228. Paris. 1871.

WHATEVER the importance to the future of the siege of Paris in a strictly strategical and political point of view, it will, in these respects, be comparatively indefinite. Of more direct and certain consequence are scientific experiments and conclusions respecting the art of war and the maintenance of a large population under such circumstances. The French are generally acknowledged to be the foremost scientific people of the day. Their experiments, discoveries, and inventions during the late war have been of a remarkable character, and their effect upon the future cannot but be very considerable. That they could accomplish so much under such distracting conditions, is a proof not only of the wonderful mental activity, but also of the calm power of their scientists.

M. Saint-Edme in his first chapter, comments freely upon the war, and upon those who brought it upon his country. He says:

"Une guerre, absurde sous tous les rapports, politiques et sociaux, tel fut le couronnement de l'édifice napoléonien," (p. 1)

Here are the words of one who has no respect for systems unless founded upon the immutable laws of nature and society. Rulers as such he judges, as he does other men, by their fruits. His sympathies are with the people, and he esteems no government that does not preserve their rights and supply their wants.

"O dynasties! avez-vous fait votre temps? verrons-nous encore les peuples se sacrifier aux intérêts mesquins, de personnalités plus mesquines encore? O peuples, apprenez-vous enfin à vous passer de *sauver* qu'il s'appelle empereur, roi, ou dictateur?"—(p. 4.)

He gives a succinct account of the events of the war and of the investment of Paris, with which event his treatise properly begins. He discourses upon the patriotic efforts of the people to defend the city and the erection of fortifications. The want of means greatly hampered operations. Yet that so much was done he justly considers praiseworthy. Many attempts were made to invent projectiles of superior efficacy, but none were entirely successful. Among other projects was an effort "to decompose the air over an extent so vast that the Prussians would fall by thousands struck with asphyxia." This plan was gravely dis-

cussed in some of the journals, upon which our author exclaims, "O puissance du canard !" (p. 32.)

The Prussians have been charged with using poisoned bullets, and there seems to have been some evidence that they did so; at least, many Frenchmen believed, and still believe the report. M. Saint-Edme thinks that the question should be carefully investigated and fully determined. The French were offered such missiles, but the authorities in every case declined to resort to so barbarous a mode of warfare. Incendiary balloons and petroleum bombs were tried, but without satisfactory results. Movable ramparts were attempted but failed, and the author ridicules the project. To obtain news from the outside during the siege, many devices were proposed. Among these were sub-aquatic navigation, and a line of aerial telegraph to be supported by balloons. The last was believed to be practicable by several members of the Academy.

M. Saint-Edme gives an instructive account of the condition of acrostatic science in 1870. (p. 53, *et seq.*) The balloons were the best means which the Parisians had to send out intelligence. It was thought that it might be possible to get these messengers into the city again, but this was soon proved to be impossible. The small despatch balloons (*cartes postes*) were very serviceable. For the news Paris received from without it was almost entirely dependent upon the pigeons, which "saved it from moral death which would have followed the complete absence of intelligence." (p. 85.) Microscopic despatches—photographs invisible to the naked eye were also resorted to, and in many instances successfully. Of the method of making these, there is a full description with illustrations.

Chapter IV. of the book is devoted to gunpowder and experiments therewith. Chap. V. treats of electricity and the telegraph, giving illustrations, and chap. VI. of various substances and facts relating to aliment, preservation of food, etc. The work will have much more than a temporary interest and value.

The Earth: A Descriptive History of the Phenomena of the Life of the Globe. By ELISEE RECLUS. Translated by the late B. B. Woodward, M. A., and by HENRY WOODWARD, British Museum. Illustrated by two hundred and thirty Maps in the text, and twenty-three page Maps, printed in colors. 8vo., pp. 567. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1871.

WE regret that this highly interesting, instructive, and valuable work did not reach us in time to enable us to give our readers some approximate idea of the large amount of multifarious knowledge relative to our planet and all that appertains to it, which the learned author has man-

aged to compress, in so agreeable and attractive a manner, into one large octavo. As it is, we can do little more than bear testimony to the appropriateness and accuracy of what we have copied above from the title-page.

The work is divided into four parts. Part I. devotes five chapters to "The Earth as a Planet." Part II. discusses all the phenomena of "The Land" in twenty-two chapters. Part III. is equally elaborate in examining "The Circulation of Water." But the most important of all is Part IV., which omits nothing of any value that science has yet revealed as to the nature and phenomena of "Subterranean Forces."

The pictorial illustrations are quite numerous, and, in general, are at least as good as we have seen in any similar work issued in this country. But the maps are excellent—those printed in colors are, indeed, unsurpassed. In short, they well deserve to be stamped, as each is, with the name of our greatest publishing house: and certainly they reflect credit in turn on the acknowledged taste and enterprise of Harper & Brothers.

The Organization of Labor in Accordance with Custom and the Law of the Dordogne; with a Summary of Comparative Observations upon Good and Evil in the Régime of Labor, the Causes of Evil existing at the Present Time, and the Means required to effect Reform; with Objections and Answers, Difficulties and Solutions. By F. LE PLAY, Senator of France, etc., etc. Translated by GOUVERNEUR EMERSON, M.D., Member of the American Philosophical Society. 12mo., pp. 417. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haefelfinger. 1872.

THIS work is a fearless and able handling of one of the most important questions of the day; perhaps the one that above all others should command the earnest attention of the statesman and the philosopher. Its author, a prominent man under the recent French empire, was commissioned by the Emperor Napoleon to investigate the subject which is treated in this volume. Whatever may be thought of the means by which Louis Napoleon obtained and held his position as the head of the French nation, there can be no doubt, in any well-informed mind, that he was an enlightened ruler, and his appreciation of the topic here discussed, and his selection of M. Le Play to investigate it, exhibit his penetration. We are not told that Napoleon examined and approved this work as finally prepared; had he done so he would have evinced his liberality of views in an unquestionable form.

M. Le Play is a deep thinker, an astute observer, and a daring advocate. He lays the axe at the root of the tree of mismanagement, and does not care how many castles of privilege may have their support in its branches, and must come down with it. We by no means say that we approve all his sentiments, or his manner of expressing them, but we commend his evident earnestness, thorough research, and fearless utterance. Any one who

masters his thought and transcends it sufficiently to convict him of error, will accomplish something upon which he will have reason to congratulate himself, and will, besides, confer a favor upon humanity. The book takes a wide range, and perhaps a summary of its recommendations cannot better be given than in the author's own words :

" Society must be re-established upon its eternal bases, namely, domestic life upon the discipline of the fireside, the workshop, the parish, and the corporation ; local government left to the direction of the departments of rural affairs and city commune ; central government founded on the province and the State.—(Preface, p. xvii.)

The above was written, it must be observed, during the prevalence of the empire, which M. Le Play did not propose to overturn, but only to modify. He is not a republican, *per se*, though he has great respect for the system in vogue in the United States, especially for its founders and early administrators, who were, however, he notes, educated under a different regime. He demands a government of justice founded upon enlightened custom and the decalogue. For European nations he would have a central authority controlled by correct and liberal principles. It might be an aristocracy or

" A man with heart, head, hand,
Like some of the simple great ones, gone
For ever and ever by ;
One still, strong voice in a blatant land :
Whatever they call him, what care I,
Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat, one
Who can rule, and dare not lie."

Yet " the principle of sovereignty exists in the entire nation."—p. (341). He is singularly unprejudiced and tolerant in his views of peoples and nations, and never spares his own countrymen where he believes them deserving of reprehension. His views are, indeed, entirely cosmopolitan. We rather incline, at times, to the opinion, that in his desire to be wholly impartial, he is frequently more severe upon the French than the facts warrant. If he rebukes them, however, it is the rebuke of a parent or a friend who is solicitous that his own shall excel all others by subjection to a most rigid self-examination and discipline. He is a Catholic, but is anxious that his church shall grant and maintain freedom of conscience, not only for the sake of justice, but also for her own advantage. He would have

" A dominant faith not subjected to constraint : the various rival sects left to perform their duties with the utmost freedom. The Catholics, in particular, when found under these conditions, are as deeply penetrated by their religious faith, and rendered more firm and enlightened than they were in the middle ages, and, at the same time, animated in the highest degree with the spirit of proselytism."—(p. 309.)

The limits within which our notice must be confined, do not permit us to attempt an analysis of M. Le Play's philosophically systematized work ; we can do little more than refer to some of his general conclusions. It is not merely a book on the "organization of labor," with reference to the working classes alone, it is a thorough treatise upon society and government, to which his examination of the primary question led him. Labor means all human action, especially that which affects others, and its consideration involves all that concerns gregarious humanity.

With all social problems, even those which involve the highest considerations, he deals boldly. The scientists will find truths in such sentences as the following, which it would be well for them to investigate before they make any further attempt to extend the reign of scepticism :

"To exclude God and religion from the social world because they are not apparent in the physical world, is a doctrine as unreasonable as would be that of excluding nutrition from the organic kingdom because it was not found in the inorganic. The teachers of scientific scepticism commit a monstrous crime against method, and a sacrilegious mutilation of truth, when they pretend to exclude from the science of man the admirable phenomena of religion, morality, and reason."—(p. 195).

Our author has, in these two sentences, said more to demolish the stronghold of the positivists than we believe can be found in the sermons of all our divines during the last ten years. There are many utterances in the volume which impress us by their subtle insight. It is true that there are some conclusions to which we would demur; but for the spirit, ability and utility of the work, we cannot but entertain a high regard.

La Deuxième Armée de la Loire. Par le GENERAL CHANZY. 3me édition. 8vo, pp. 662. Paris. 1871.

THIS work differs from the great majority of publications upon the late war, from the important position held by its author, and the fact that he had access to materials of real historical value. The army which General Chanzy commanded accomplished more that was really brilliant than any other force engaged against the Prussians. The author says :

"I do not attempt to conceal our imperfections, our failures, our defeats; but I can say, without exaggerating them, that our efforts met with some success of which the country has a right to be proud." (Preface).

He treats of the events in which he was concerned in a plain, straightforward manner, having, as he says, "no ambition to make a book." The operations in which he was engaged were of very considerable magnitude, but they were overshadowed, in the public estimation, by more startling events at other points. He does not, like some other French commanders who have published books, consider that he is called upon to defend himself or his army. He is willing that their deeds shall speak for them. He asks only that the public shall judge with an accurate knowledge of the facts. He supplies materials for a correct history when the time shall come for it to be written.

There are six books in the main body of the work, with six appendices containing important documents, as orders, reports, correspondence, etc.

EDUCATION.

E. H. Butler & Co.'s New American Series. The New American First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Readers. By EPES SARGENT and AMASA MAY. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Company.

JUDICIOUSLY prepared reading books for the young are by no means numerous; nor is their compilation so easy as most of our publishers and editors presume. A combination of qualities, including taste, judgment, discretion, and versatility, that are seldom united in one person, is required. The younger the students for whom the books are intended, the greater the difficulty of supplying their needs, and the more exacting the responsibility to furnish nothing that can injure their sensitive and impressionable minds and natures. "Before all things," says Quintilian, "let the talk of the child's nurses not be ungrammatical." (*Ante omnia, ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus*). Books for children must be adapted to their comprehension, but they should not be silly, while good taste and healthy, suggestive, elementary thought are essential.

We have carefully examined the series prepared by Messrs. Sargent and May, and think those gentlemen have succeeded unusually well in their undertaking. They have not attempted any striking innovations designed to attract attention by their novelty. There is a praiseworthy absence of sensationalism and self-laudation, which are relied upon in so many cases by publishers and editors to secure success by piquing curiosity and appealing to the popular sense of the wonderful. Simplicity, good taste, and conscientiousness characterize the entire series. At the same time, such modern improvements as have stood the test of experience have been adopted.

One of the best evidences of the qualifications of an editor of such a series is his ability to render the style of the several succeeding works steadily progressive, and to keep it uniform and suitable throughout each separate volume. In this respect these books appear to us unexceptionable. Those designed for younger students, and which especially determine the compilers' qualifications, particularly merit approval. The First Reader contains, in directions "to the teacher," the authors' method of inducting children into the beginnings of knowledge. They say, "In teaching the child to *speak* we give him whole words, and in teaching him to read we should first do the same." The correctness of this principle is now generally recognized by the best educators. Object teaching is recommended, and directions and suggestions for it are given in several of the volumes. In this so much depends upon the ability of the teacher that text-books can furnish but little aid. The Second Reader gives the sounds of the letters, an account of punctuation marks, and more extended directions; the Third contains a more complete resumé

of elementary sounds, of letters, syllables, accents, phonic spelling, inflections, emphasis, etc.; the Fourth is yet more full in these particulars, with principles of analysis, pronunciation and vocal training, while the Fifth has as lengthy a treatise upon elocution as the authors deem serviceable, and which, though brief, shows good judgment.

"We have preferred to take what is best for the purposes of elocutionary drill, without regard to age or national origin."—(Preface to Fifth Reader)

In the selection of pieces we notice a judicious mingling of those which convey material knowledge with such as are designed for amusement and moral instruction. A "Dialogue on lines" (Third Reader, p. 121), and a chapter on gravitation (Fourth Reader, p. 136), are instances of a pleasing method of instruction in facts. Only in the Fifth book are the names of authors of pieces given. These are, in general, selected from the best literature, English and American, old and new, suitable for the purpose. Many pieces have been discreetly altered to make them proper for insertion. Some of the old favorites are retained, while such articles by modern writers are selected as to present a considerable range of style and variety of subjects and treatment. An explanatory index at the end of the volume, giving a brief account of the persons, places, and authors mentioned in the book, or from whom pieces are selected, is a valuable feature. All the volumes of the series are liberally illustrated, not in the slipshod manner of many school books, but with real artistic excellence. We notice, also, that these Readers are furnished at an unusually moderate price.

An American Dictionary of the English Language. By NOAH WEBSTER, LL.D. Thoroughly Revised and greatly Enlarged and Improved. By CHAUNCEY A. GOODRICH, D.D., etc., etc., and NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., etc. Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam. 1872.

Dr. WEBSTER was quite a great man in the early period of this nation. Nearly all our men of intellect had turned their attention to war and statesmanship, which, in the days that tried souls, were of the first importance. But when the cannon had ceased to thunder, the land was at peace, and the constitution had been framed, the schoolmaster was in demand. Mr. Webster and others took upon themselves the praiseworthy task of directing the shooting tendencies of the juvenile American idea. Words were among the first things which the future sovereigns would need, in their youthful years, to satisfy their hunger for knowledge. Mr. Webster gave them some. He compiled a spelling-book, which also gave the names of the letters of which written words are composed. He did more than that; he arranged these words so

that they should "point a moral and adorn a tale," such, for instance, as that, "An old man once found a rude boy in one of his trees stealing apples, and desired him to come down; but the young saucybox plainly told him that he would not," and so on to the final catastrophe in that unequal contest. To crown all, there were pictures in the book. Young America was delighted; his fresh, spontaneous nature could not but overflow with gratitude in such a case. The author of so pleasant and useful a book could not but be a great and good man. Consequently he was enshrined in the hearts of his youthful countrymen, and they have never found resolution entirely to displace him.

For quite infantile America this was very well. For Mr. Webster it was also well. His efforts in behalf of education deserve an admiring recognition. He labored long and earnestly, and, we doubt not, to the best of his ability and resources. He produced grammars and spelling-books that were of great service in their day and generation. At length he resolved to accomplish a dictionary. There he was, perhaps, somewhat beyond his depth, yet his labors in this cause were not without usefulness. We are to judge him by his time, and not by the present. His labors were considerably extended, and his compilation of words and definitions had its effect in educating the youth of the country, though he did them some harm likewise. At any rate, the present age requires a very different sort of lexicographical pabulum.

"The times have been

That when the brains were out a man would die,
And there an end."

Dr. Webster has been dead a great many years, but publishers still make money out of what they call his "Dictionary." Great improvements have been made in lexicography, but this once popular name is still made to endorse an incongruous melange vastly different from the more modest volume which once bore its title, the modern work retaining many of the errors and absurdities of the former, with large additions by later editors.

Dictionaries were published which are far superior to that of Dr. Webster; the public began to be made aware of the fact: it became necessary for the owners of the copyright to do something to prevent a loss in their revenue from this cause. They tried pictorial illustrations: a few such, designed to explain certain terms not definable by words, would have been very well. But in the work, as it is now presented to us, there are pictures of all sorts, which have no kind of use except to captivate the impressionable purchaser. There are cuts of every cheap description, picked up, we should judge, anywhere, and thrown in to swell the bulk of the work and "make it sell." Even the game of "leap-frog" has an engraving showing how the feat is accomplished. (See that word).

The illustrations which are scattered throughout the book are collected and presented *en masse* at the end, printed on inferior paper, for the delectation of the youthful. This is childish, and insulting to the memory of Webster. Not content with swelling the size of the volume with these silly pictures, a vast amount of other matter, is added. There are tables upon a variety of subjects, some of which are useful in their way, but most of them are out of place. Wheeler's "Dictionary of Noted Names of Fiction," is an interesting work by itself, but as it has been published separately, in a cheap form, with important additions, there is no excuse for retaining an imperfect portion of it in this connection. But there are additions more manifestly absurd. We have anatomical and physiological plates and definitions, and also a number of curious alphabets, ancient and modern. All these things are out of place, but go to increase the price of the book. There are more than two hundred pages of this sort at the end of the work, besides all the prefaces, orthographical explanations, etc., etc., in the former part. A person who believes in Webster, and desires to purchase the book which, though improperly, bears his name, is compelled to pay for a mass of material which is of no service to him, or which, if it is a service, he has in a better and more convenient form. The retail price of the dictionary, we are informed, is \$12; all that properly belongs to it ought to be furnished for \$5. Its publishers have a monopoly, and it seems they intend to make the most of it. There are many who can afford to pay the price demanded, but the great number who want a dictionary are students and writers of moderate means, who are thus heavily taxed that certain booksellers may thrive.

What is a dictionary? The word is derived from the Latin *dictio*, French *dictionnaire*, and Johnson defines it as "A book containing the words of a language arranged in alphabetical order, with explanations of their meanings; a lexicon." Mr. Webster confined his compilation nearly within its proper limits, though he, and especially the revisers of his work, have extended the definitions, in many cases, beyond all reasonable bounds.* Many things which we could commend in other circumstances, are of no more use here than they would be in an agricultural treatise. The editors of the present edition seem to have adopted the plan of Mrs. Toodles, who attended auctions and bought all descriptions of articles because any of them might, at some time, be wanted, "and then it would be so handy to have it in the house." They do not yet claim that the book is an encyclopædia, but it seems to be their ambition to make a very poor sort of one.

We have, on a former occasion, treated at some length of the orthography and definitions of Dr. Webster, especially in comparison with

* *Vide* National Quarterly Review, No. V., June, 1864.

Worcester's Dictionary.* It is, perhaps, not worth while now to make any additional remarks on this head, further than to note that the "revisers" continue to go farther and farther from the Websterian standard. Of this we could not complain would they only teach the student to write and pronounce the English language properly. Dr. Webster's innovations were well meant, and they had a good influence in stimulating inquiry as to the best modes of spelling certain classes of words; but their principal effect was to unsettle the orthography of our language so far as the public had any faith in the Websterian plan.

The crowning evidence of the genius of those who issue this book is that the present edition bears date 1872, although it has been out for a long while. To anticipate time thus, we supposed the peculiar aptitude of the publishers of monthly periodicals. In the latter case there might be some excuse in the rivalry between different magazines, and the fact that some of their buyers were to be reached over long distances. Perhaps there is a rivalry of a similar sort among proprietors of dictionaries. If so, we shall probably yet see their editions dated for an indefinite period of time in advance. Our grandchildren may find books issued this year whose dates suit their era.

1. *Outlines of History; with Original Tables, Chronological, Genealogical, and Literary.* By ROBERT H. LABBERTON. Third Edition.
2. *Historical Questions, logically Arranged and Divided. The Companion Book to Labberton's Outlines of History.* By ROBERT H. LABBERTON.
3. *An Historical Atlas, containing a Chronological Series of one hundred Maps at successive Periods, from the Dawn of History to the present Day.* By ROBERT H. LABBERTON. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1872.

It is with almost unmingled pleasure, and certainly with very decided general approval, that we have examined this series. The demand for improved text-books is constantly increasing, and in no department of study is it greater than in the important one of history. The essential lack in this regard has been such a systematic presentation of historical facts as would enable the student to get a comprehensive knowledge of the world's progress, and particularly to aid him to understand the sequence and connection of events. Mr. Labberton seems to us to have elucidated a system far superior to anything of the kind we have yet seen, and, on the whole, to have produced a set of works for elementary instruction which leave little to be desired. The "Outlines of History "

* No. V.

and the volume of maps are not only good text-books, they are also very valuable works of reference.

In the *Outlines*, we have first a table of contents, presenting the grand facts of history and the divisions which the author has adopted. Then follow a series of tables very ingeniously constructed. This is the most valuable feature of the work, being a key to universal history. We like its arrangement so well that we should be glad to see it published separately as a concise work of reference for all classes of students. Over four hundred dates are given, with names of prominent persons and events which are representative. The memorizing of these names and dates will fix in the mind all the principal facts of history. At the same time historic periods are so marked as to impress them in their connection readily upon the memory. The greatest prominence is given to the writers of each country and age, their names being printed in capitals. This is in conformity with modern civilization which recognizes men of thought and genius, rather than warriors, as the proper representatives of their several epochs. In connection with each table the names of standard historical works are given, that the student may be directed in his efforts to acquire a thorough knowledge of each period and nation. The selection of authorities is generally unexceptionable. Such names as Grote, Niebuhr, and Mommsen, are cited for ancient history, and Gibbon, Hallam, and Michelet, for mediæval. The list of writers on modern history is much more extensive, and their selection shows a catholic spirit.

Following the tables is a list of "Twenty-five remarkable dates," beginning with the fall of the western empire, A. D. 476, and ending with the battle of Navarino, 1827. These could be easily memorized by ordinary students, and would furnish a standard of dates to which any facts could be referred. All the names and figures in the tables are designed to be committed to memory, which will not be very difficult. An alphabetical list of the names mentioned in the tables gives a brief notice of the principal historical personages and events. The appendix contains a concise presentation of facts well arranged.

The author has not space to indulge extensively in comments upon persons and incidents, yet he makes some, and, in a few instances, such as we could wish had been omitted. Of a writer whom the English people could never understand, and whom the American public, taking their opinion from prejudiced sources, are prone to underrate, the student is told that no more profound, lucid, and fair estimate of Voltaire and Voltairism is to be found in the English literature than is presented in Carlyle's "Essay," (p. 160.) It is our conviction that the essay mentioned is superficial, opinionated, and prejudiced, as Carlyle's studies of character are apt to be. Yet with many of Mr. Labberton's critical opinions we heartily coincide. Thus, for example, we have seen no better characterization than this of Tennyson's generally-depreciated poem :

"In Maud, the commonest newspaper details of the meanness, the cheating, the cruelty, the crime and misery, so rife among us, supply food to the indignation of the man whose temperament and circumstances make him look on the darker aspects of the time; and the same man finds in the topics of the day the comfort and the hope that restore him to sanity and peace with himself and the world." (p. 150.)

Genealogical tables of the reigning houses of Europe close the books. The volume of questions is designed to facilitate the labors of teacher and pupils. The student who can answer the 12,744 questions will have a very good general knowledge of history.

The series of maps is something that we have long been wishing to see. Heretofore the student could not, without great expense, obtain a knowledge of the divisions of the globe at particular historical epochs. There are atlases of ancient, mediæval and modern geography, but no one work with which we are acquainted, and which could be obtained at a moderate price, that exhibits the various changes of boundary consequent upon the progress of events. The author justly speaks of this work as a "pictorial history." There are forty plates, containing one hundred different colored maps, the first representing the Chaldean empire under Chedor Laomer, and the last, Europe in 1871. From the extent of the work it could not be expected that the greater part of these maps should be much more than outlines, yet they are sufficient to illustrate the progress of history, and the several changes of dynasty. Ancient history is best represented, and we especially note the maps of Hellas and the Peloponnesus, with plans of the principal cities (plate viii), and those illustrating the Roman empire at various periods. The scholar will still want the more elaborate atlases which are in use, but for students, and for people of moderate means, this publication supplies a desideratum.

The Student's Series. Eleven volumes. 12mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1871.

IN COMPLIANCE with the requests of teachers and friends of education in many parts of the country, we have taken the pains to examine this "Series" carefully. Far from finding the task an irksome one, it has afforded us much pleasure. At the same time it has not only refreshed our memory, but added not a little to our stock of knowledge, for we have no pretension to belong to that class who know all things.

Turning from one volume to another it has occurred to us that, if required to furnish a motto suitable for each, there is none we would recommend before that of Pliny the Younger---*Assem para et accipe auream fabulam*.* Indeed, there is not one of the eleven volumes which

* Give me a penny and I will tell you a story worth gold.—Plinius Minor, ii., 20.

might not justly bear this on its title-page. All are histories with the exception of Lyell's "Elements of Geology." We wish that many other scientific works we could mention were so admirably condensed as the latter is; and yet there is not one of the histories before us which we could ask to be exchanged for a scientific work of equal size.

The Histories embrace the ancient and the modern world, and include the sacred and the profane. Most of them are already so well known as to render it needless to describe them. There are few teachers or intelligent parents who have not seen at least two or three numbers of the series. Let us assume that they have seen "The Student's Gibbon" and "The Student's History of France." Each is indeed excellent, but both were among the first prepared. Good, then, as their general plan is, that of the more recent works is still better. Thus, "The Student's Hallam," "The Student's History of Rome," "The Student's Ancient History of the East," "The Student's History of Greece," "The Student's Old Testament History," "The Student's New Testament History," etc., exhibit a degree of perfection in the art of rendering historical knowledge at once easily attainable and attractive, which, we confess, we had scarcely believed possible ourselves, before we had performed, however imperfectly, our present task.

With the sole exception of "Hallam," each of the "Series" is illustrated to a greater or less extent. There is no exception as to annotations and index, in neither of which advantages has anything been omitted that the most exacting could say, on reflection, he had any right to expect in an abridgment.

Such is our reply to those who so far honor us as to ask our opinion. We give the latter all the more willingly, and the more carefully, from the fact that, having never ceased to be a "student" ourselves, we may claim to have some sympathy even for the youngest of those who study—at least so far as to wish to render their labor not only as light, but as agreeable, as possible.

The Sophomores of Radcliffe. By ELIJAH KELLOGG. Boston: Lee & Sheppard.

THIS is another book, the late arrival of which on our table renders it impossible that we could do justice to its various merits in our present number. But limited—almost exhausted—as our space is at this moment, we feel that we should be guilty of a dereliction of duty, did we fail to recommend the book to the younger students of every one of our colleges and seminaries.

The author has evidently studied college life, and he portrays it without caricature or exaggeration. Before reading beyond the third page,

we become convinced that the design of Mr. Kellogg is not to create a sensation, but to eradicate abuses and encourage reform; and one is all the more willing to accompany him on this account, especially when he finds good advice so happily blended with spirit-stirring, but harmless amusement as it everywhere is in "The Sophomores of Radcliffe."

Another attractive, instructive book from the same house is "The Doctor's Daughter." In the selection of books like these for the young, we see agreeable new evidence of the excellent judgment of Mr. Lee, matured, as it is, by long experience in intellectual catering. Marian, the heroine of the book now in hand, is a very good specimen of an earnest, self-reliant, yet modest, cultivated "Yankee" girl, a type of the *genus mulier*, which, as our readers know, we have always regarded as unsurpassed among nationalities. One reason is this: We have all heard our grand-mothers say how important it is that the ladies should be able and willing to "do rough and smooth" in case of necessity. But since the book under consideration comes from the Modern Athens, it will be more appropriate, and will hardly seem pedantic, to put that idea in a more classic garb; and therefore we draw on honest old Juvenal, who is not the less truthful or the less benevolent for being a satirist:

Noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus
In summis minimisque, etiam cum piscis emetur,
Ne nullam cupias cum sit tibi gobio tantum
In lencis."*

BELLES-LETTRES.

1. *Joshua Marvel*. By B. L. FARJEON. Author of "Grif." 8vo., pp. 222.
2. *The Member for Paris*. TROIS ETOILLES. 8vo., pp. 206. Boston; James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

It is not often that two novels reach our table together which, as in the present instance, are at once interesting and instructive. Nine out of ten of all we take up for examination prove such inanities, or such a tissue of vulgar platitudes, that we do not feel justified in occupying our readers' time, or our own, even in condemning them as worthless. Nor are we by any means sure of finding the tithe such as we could conscientiously recommend, although we are glad to add that more or less talent and culture are evinced in that proportion. In general, the difficulty in these instances is lack of taste on the part of the authors. The chief design being to make a sensation, every incident, nay, every circumstance, is exaggerated or distorted. Our readers are aware that we have not failed to criticise novels of this class from time to time; if we

* Sat. xi. 35.

have not criticised them more frequently it is because constant fault-finding is not so agreeable, even to professional reviewers, as is generally supposed. It is much more pleasure to us to commend than to condemn; and hence it is that we cordially invite attention to the two books now before us.

The twain are, indeed, very different from each other. One is the representative of an English school, the other the representative of a French school; but each school is worthy of the name, and, at the same time, presents us a creditable specimen in the present instance. In England Mr. Farjeon is regarded by competent judges as a worthy successor of Dickens. His "Grif" has been compared by leading critics to some of the great novelist's happiest efforts. For our own part, we consider "Joshua Marvel" much superior to "Grif." We wish we had space and time to analyze the former. As it is, we can do little more than remark in general terms, that there are few love stories more fascinating. More than one incident in the life of Minnie, the heroine, recall "Black-eyed Susan," one of the most touching lyrics in the English language. William may justly be regarded as the prototype of Joshua in all the characteristics of a true-hearted sailor. There is, however, this important difference. Joshua takes his beloved with him to sea; and she becomes the companion of his perils and sorrows as well as his joys. There is no need in his case of the asseveration,

"Change, as ye list, ye winds—my heart shall be
The faithful compass that still points to thee."

Both would much have preferred remaining at home, but both are poor. Because Joshua has no means of supporting Minnie, the father of the young woman is naturally unwilling that she should marry him. Joshua tries hard to become acquainted with the duties of a sailor. In time he gets employment on the "Merry Andrew." His beloved agrees to meet him near the dock the evening before the vessel sails, and is faithful to her promise. Little time as she has left before starting, she writes a letter imploring her father's forgiveness and reminding him tenderly of an admission she had once overheard him make, to the effect that her mother had married him for love, forsaking friends and family for his sake. "As my mother did," says the heroine, "so have I done. It will be useless searching for me; for when you read this I shall be hundreds of miles away on the sea. If you guess my secret, keep it for the sake of my good name; and for the sake of my good name do not let any other eyes but yours see this letter." (p. 125.)

Great is the grief which this letter causes, but Joshua proves a good man and a worthy husband. In due time both return, after passing through many vicissitudes, and are enthusiastically welcomed by all former friends. But we must not be too communicative. Those who read the story would not thank us for unravelling all the threads in

so agreeable and interesting a web. Suffice it to add, therefore, that notwithstanding the "runaway match," "Joshua Marvel" is as chaste in its moral tone, as it is tender in its pathos and fascinating in its narrative. As it is the first number of "Osgood's Library of Novels," we may express the hope that the following numbers of the series will prove equally salutary and attractive.

We do not know whether we are to regard "The Member for Paris" as number two of the new "Library;" but we are certain it is worthy of the distinction. This is no mere love story, although there is abundance of love in it, and friendship too. It combines with a series of bold, skilful portraiture, a considerable variety of historical, political, forensic, and literary information. No other novel that we have read affords so reliable and piquant an insight into the habits of the Paris editors, lawyers, and *gens d'esprit* in general.

In fact, the book would be worth reading if only for the light it sheds on the philosophy of libel suits, under the second empire. The character of Nestor Roche, editor of *La Sentinelle*, is no caricature, but a veritable type. Horace Gerold, the young lawyer whose first brief is a defence of Roche, and who, in time, exchanges the bar for the editorial chair, is also a living, moving character. Still more true to life, if possible, is the portraiture of Monsieur Isidore Macrobe, who, after having been engaged in various speculations which enabled him to enrich himself at the expense of his fellow citizens, is appointed Knight of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honor. This worthy person has held so many offices in Paris, and pretended to perform so many important duties through pure patriotism—"without money and without price"—that he will readily remind those of our readers who peruse "The Member for Paris," of a certain great man who once occupied a high politico-scientific position not far from New York, but who has lately retired into private life, disgusted with the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens. Among the positions held by Macrobe are those of director of the new *Société du Crédit Parisien*, Treasurer of a *Compagnie Générale du Pavage Départemental*, and Treasurer of the *Société de l'Eclairage Rustique*.

It was more than suspected that Macrobe indulged in plunder to a greater or less extent in each case. Accordingly Nestor Roche ventures to criticize certain of his operations and to question his worthiness as a member of the Legion of Honor. No sooner is the criticism published than the editor is arrested for libel, and the certain prospect before him is at least three months' imprisonment, and a fine of ten thousand francs.

How the proceedings ended, what became of the editor, the lawyer, the "Knight," etc.—which fared worst, after all, in the end, in spite of stolen money and all the base influences which it can command, are

things which we leave the reader to discover for himself. We need only add that the foundation of the "Osgood Library" is skilfully laid, and that none have so large a stock of wisdom or knowledge but that they may profit from even a cursory examination of the corner stones.

Journal d'un Voyageur Pendant la Guerre. Par GEORGE SAND.
Troisième Edition. 12mo., pp. 310. Paris. 1871.

MADAM DUDEVANT could never have been reproached with having too little heart. Her earlier published writings showed that her fault was rather in being too intense. A passionate nature roused to frenzied expression by circumstances, it has gradually been subdued by experience and thought, until her later works show that her former bitterness of soul has been eliminated to give place to a comprehensive humanitarianism.

In this volume, especially, do her best personal qualities exhibit themselves. Her motherly heart has been torn anew by the woes of her beloved France. The "true genius but true woman," has in these pages recorded her reflections and her feelings, her thoughts, hopes, fears, and anguish, in relation to the great and terrible events of the times. The period chronicled is that from the 15th of September, 1870, to the middle of February, 1871. Moving from place to place in France, she comments upon the items of intelligence concerning the struggle as they reach her. The book opens with expressions almost of despair in reference to the woes she is compelled to witness and to share, yet her hopeful nature can say:

"La vie est un bien pourtant, un bien absolu, qui ne se perd ni se diminue dans le sublime total universel."—(p. 1.)

She says as little as possible to add to the gloom of her countrymen, but utters many philosophic words of encouragement and advice.

"On dit que récapituler ses maux port malheur. Cela est vrai pour nous aujourd'hui."—(p. 9.)

Modern warfare she understands to be a question rather of mechanical forces and of numbers, than of individual valor. Napoleon I. judged of it correctly, but his nephew seems to have strangely miscalculated, since the fact that Providence is on the side of the heaviest battalions—and, it should be added, of the best guns—is still more true than it was in the days of Austerlitz.

"It is thus that civilization has extended its sway in Germany. * * * They have devoted twelve years to the moulding of cannon. They are among us, they overwhelm us, they ruin us, they decimate us,"—(p. 31.)

She depicts many war scenes in her graphic way, from accounts which she receives. When she learns of Jules Favre's embassy to Bis-

marek, her hope of peace revives. She declares that it is "A beautiful page of history; it is great, it is touching," (p. 63.) But on learning the result she utters words which would have become a Spartan matron.

"Peace is, then, not possible!"

"A strong voice cries from the depth of the heart,

"We must conquer!"

"A sad voice groans from the depths of the soul,

"We must die!"—(p. 63.)

She hears the people spoken of as cowardly and reactionary. Her heart defends them. "They are ignorant and miserable," (p. 103.) They need leaders, persons in whom they can have confidence to organize and direct them. But, alas! for France, such leaders were wanting, and a brave people were overwhelmed and butchered, until, at last, their valor was expended in frenzied conflict with those they suspected of having betrayed them. This lady wields a trenchant pen, and some of her satirical comments are like keenest arrows of truth.

"King William writes a fine New Year's letter to his wife. Nothing better! But why do the German newspapers reproduce with enthusiasm what the King says to the Queen, or the Queen says to the King? It is for the edification of Christendom, doubtless, kings are so pious."—(p. 220)

This journal will have no particular value for history. It is only a commentary upon passing events. Full of energy and eloquence as it is, were it not that its author is so well known and so highly gifted, it would perhaps excite little interest.

Ancient Classics for English Readers. Edited by the Rev. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

1. *Homer: The Iliad*, By the Rev. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A. 16mo., pp. x. 148.

5. *Horace*. By THEODORE MARTIN. pp. ix. 203.

3. *Cicero*. By the Rev. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A. pp. 193.

THE way to a knowledge of the Classics, if not a royal one, is certainly not the broad road of the multitude. There is but a single entrance to each of the magnificent temples of Greece and Rome—one key that unlocks the door, in either case, and that is an acquaintance with the languages. Anyone who pretends to reveal the glories of ancient literature through the medium of English translations is a charlatan. The best version of the classics in a modern language, is to the original as a travelling showman's panorama to the scenes it claims to depict. The candidate for initiation into the more than Eleusinian mysteries of beauty and philosophy opened by the writers of Greece and Rome, must pass through an ordeal more severe than that requisite to be in-

ducted into the Egyptian rites; he must subject himself to a trial of intellectual perseverance and endurance that far outdoes any material probation. Yet, on the other hand, we cannot, though we gladly would, ignore the fact that there are, especially in this democratic country, a great number of persons who read superficially, but never deeply; who can be led to seek a passing knowledge of what they have no ambition or ability to thoroughly comprehend. It may be better that such people should know a little of the classics than nothing at all, though, in some instances it is especially true in reference to this subject that "a little learning is a dangerous thing." However, the knowledge they are likely to derive from works like these under review can hardly be called learning.

As an introduction to the study of the classics we could favor a well-prepared set of books on the plan of these volumes. Our principal objection to this series is, that they are calculated—if not designed—to encourage superficiality and indolence.

"The aim of the present series will be to explain sufficiently for general readers, who these great writers were, and what they wrote; to give, wherever possible, some connected outline of the story which they tell, or the facts which they record, checked by the results of modern investigations; to present some of their most striking passages in approved English translations, and to illustrate them generally from modern writers; to serve, in short, as a popular retrospect of the chief literature of Greece and Rome." (Advertisement to volume on the *Iliad*, pp. vii. and viii.)

The Rev. Mr. Collins gossips considerably about Homer, but gives us no new facts, which, indeed, we could not expect; nor are his observations at all thorough. His essay on the *Iliad* and its writer will scarcely aid any one to an appreciation of the grand epic. He who does not understand Greek, and would know *anything* about Homer, must read something besides this thin volume. There are English translations and works like Mr. Gladstone's "*Juventus Mundi*," which will help to a little knowledge. Concerning Cicero, the reader is given considerable information, and some of the translations of portions of his speeches are tolerable. In regard to Horace, Mr. Martin presents many facts and numerous conjectures. The translations are borrowed from Mr. Conington, or supplied by the author. They are rhymed, and not by any means above criticism. He speaks of the "*Ode to Pyrrha*" as "famous in Milton's over-rated translation" (p. 115). Mr. Martin ought, after that remark, to give us a better version, and he boldly presents one which he, of course, deems superior. For

"Mi-eri, quibus
Intentata nites! Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat avida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo."

he gives,

"Ah, woe for those on whom thy spell is flung!
My votive tablet in the temple set,

Proclaims that I to ocean's god have hung
The vestments in my shipwreck smirched and wet."—(p. 115).

We are happy to inform the unclassical reader that "smirched and wet" is not Horatian. The beautiful image of "intentata nites," comparing the fickle maid to the glistening, treacherous sea, is entirely lost, though the whole stanza, in the original, carries out the figure. One more morceau will suffice:

"I've reared a monument, my own,
More durable than brass;
Yea, kingly pyramid of stone
In height it does surpass."—(p. 167).

("Exegi monumentum aere perennius,
Regaliq[ue] situ pyramidam altius.")

These volumes, originally prepared for English readers, would have been better adapted to this country had they been somewhat changed, as there are references and allusions not suited to this latitude.

Salad for the Solitary and the Social. By an Epicure. Dressed and compounded with sundry additional Esculents, Succulents, and Condiments. Illustrated with fifty-two Original Designs by eminent American Artists. Engraved by Bobbett and Matthews. 8vo., pp. 526. New York; De Witt, C. Lent & Co. 1871.

WE have seen no literary work lately whose contents are miscellaneous, which we could more cheerfully recommend as a holiday gift than this. Since many of our readers are already familiar with the main features of its character, it is needless for us to describe or review it. It is sufficient to say, in general terms, that those "Salads," whose piquancy delighted so large a number of the most fastidious palates nearly twenty years ago, have been subjected by the Epicure who originally prepared them to a new process, in which he makes the best use of his experience and observation during the intervening period.

In order to refresh such memories as may be defective in gustatory matters, we will mention three or four of the old ingredients, viz., The Mysteries of Medicine, The Talkative and Taciturn, A Monologue on Matrimony, The Toilette and its Devotees, The Shrines of Genius, Sleep and its Mysteries, Sports and Pastimes, Larcenies of Literature. We think it will be admitted that the epicure who could not make out a good repast from a bill of fare from which such dishes are taken almost at random, must, indeed, be overfastidious.

Mr. Saunders is certainly a judicious caterer: one who withal is much more modest and abstemious than arrogant or greedy—characteristics in which, we may remark, he bears no slight resemblance to his present publishers. Every student of the classics, who is worthy of the name, remembers those lines in Martial's *Epigrammata*, in which the poet so happily de-

scribes the simplicity of his tastes in certain particulars, and will admit that they apply with some force to our Epicure and his "Salad." For the benefit of those whose memory may not be so good, we subjoin the lines alluded to, only premising for the satisfaction of yet another class, that their burden is a quiet fireside, a house not spoiled by smoke, a living spring, the green sod, a wife not over-learned, nights with sleep, days without strife, etc.

Me focus, et nigros non indignantia fumos
Tecta juvant, et fons vivus, et herba rudis.
Sit mihi verna satur; sit non doctissima conjux;
Sit nox cum somno; sit sine lite dies.*

1. *Young Eagle; or Forest Fortunes.* By the author of "Rosa Lane," "Ben Ross," the "Christmas Gift," etc.
2. *The Fairchilds; or "Do What You Can."* By LUCY ELLEN GUERNSEY, author of "Irish Amy," "Comfort Allison," etc. Philadelphia and New York: American Sunday-School Union.

"*Young Eagle*" is a narrative of backwoods life at a period immediately subsequent to the American Revolution. There are many thrilling incidents, interspersed with quiet domestic scenes. The author seems at home in forest descriptions, and to have studied Indian character and habits to effective purpose. His savages have many romantic traits, and some of them are represented as possessing, to a certain extent, the virtues of honor and fidelity, but they are in general painted as the treacherous, vindictive wretches which reliable information proves them to be. Such expressions as the following, will correct in the minds of the young any bias towards a romantic and false view of a life of adventure among the red men:

"The tastes of the savages are so low, and their habits and customs are so gross, that ordinarily the white man cannot abide them. The boy who is fascinated by stories of Indian life, and who thinks he can rough it, with some degree of pleasure, would, I doubt not, be disappointed." (p. 114.)

"*The Fairchilds*" is a tale upon quite a different key. It is a record of struggles with poverty; of courage and integrity, and final success under difficulties. It is naturally and often affectingly told, but without any sensationalism, while its moral is excellent.

In short, we have never seen an indifferent or narrow-minded book from the press of the American Sunday-School Union. The affairs of the Society seem to be, in all respects, faithfully and judiciously managed. With the literary assistance of a man of exemplary taste and refined scholarship like the Rev. Dr. Newton, there can be no doubt that the character of its publications will continue superior.

* *Epigr.* II., 90.

APPENDIX—INSURANCE, GOOD, BAD, AND INDIFFERENT.

Sixteenth Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Part II. Life and Accidental Insurance. Boston. 1871.

OUR older readers will bear us testimony that it has always been our wish, at the close of the year, to avoid criticism as much as possible. We prefer to hope that even the sharpers may improve their habits during the holidays. Were we actuated by personal feeling, as the malefactors are so apt to pretend, our course would obviously be different. But, did the companies themselves entertain as little spite against each other as we do even against those who deserve it most, there would be vastly less quarrelling among the fraternity than there is, the policy-holders would be much safer, and better pleased than they are, and the public at large would have much more confidence in underwriting in general, and much more respect for underwriters as a body than it has.

The truth is that we have no feeling of the kind. There is not one Insurance Company which we would harm to-morrow on personal grounds, were it in our power to do so—not one which we would harm on any grounds further than we believe the public interests require. At no time have we denied that there is as much integrity and honesty among the Insurance fraternity as among any other fraternity that devote themselves exclusively to sublunary affairs, leaving affairs celestial or spiritual to those who have been properly educated in *rebus divinis*.

And still less have we ever denied that the principle of insurance is one of beneficence. Far from maintaining any such proposition, we have readily and unequivocally admitted, when most earnest and indignant in our denunciations against Insurance sharpers of all grades, that a well-managed, honest Insurance Company is not merely something that ought to be tolerated as harmless, or even encouraged as more or less useful, but a veritable public blessing—one of the best results of a high civilization—which it is the public's own interest to sustain and foster.

Doubtless two-thirds of our readers will regard these remarks as needless on our part, but it would be different if they were acquainted with the mysteries. We have no taste for preaching—that we wish to leave to those whose mission it is. But those who criticise wealthy malefactors of any kind may calculate on much more annoyance than the honest part of the public has any idea of. It is no boast that none understand this better than we, for our knowledge has been forced upon us by experience. However, it is but just to admit in this case also, that we have not found the most reprehensible class of underwriters any worse than several other classes of malefactors whose *modus operandi* we have exposed and denounced; nay, we have not found the worst of the former so bad as others. But for this we thank public opinion among the insurance fraternity as a body, a large proportion of its members being men of education, culture, and talent, as well as integrity.

We have come to this conclusion all the more readily, from the fact that

in proportion as public opinion is notoriously low among other fraternities, in that proportion have they treated us most basely for exposing their impostures. This is true, for example, of the quack doctors and of the quack politicians. The moral, or rather immoral, atmosphere of the latter is still more vitiated than that of the former, and accordingly its conduct is still more vile. Again, in proportion as either are dishonest, greedy and ambitious, in that proportion is their hatred of those who would unmask them implacable and vindictive.

This is no new discovery on our part, and we think it will be admitted that it has not deterred us much. We trust it will also be admitted that if we make any distinction between malefactors, we attack the strong rather than the weak; we grapple with the head of a gang in preference to any subordinate member. Not that we expect to find most of the plunder in his hands, or perhaps any part of it. In illustration of this we may remind our readers that in the great cities of the Old World, the art of pocket-picking has been brought to such perfection in recent years, that none but the more stupid, awkward thieves are ever detected. It is well known that learned and accomplished professors of the art lecture daily before large classes of attentive and hopeful students. The latter are taught to make experiments on coats, pantaloons, and other garments, male and female, which are duly "loaded" for the purpose. They are also taught to convey the proceeds of their experiments as quickly as possible to their confederates; and some of the more advanced students are employed as detectives. Each member of the class is carefully watched by the professor, and all who commit any blunders are punished in proportion to the awkwardness or lack of dexterity which they betray. But what they must guard against above all other things, is to allow the smallest part of the abstracted valuables or money to be found in their possession. In order to satisfy them that this is by no means impossible, although, perhaps difficult, the professor is constantly boasting that nobody has been able to trace his purse or his watch to him. Nor is the boast an idle one. Not only does the professor evade the law while operating on the largest scale, but he is often enabled to assume the character of a pious philanthropist, whose "integrity" is unsullied, although he sometimes deems it advisable to betake himself to the coldest inhabitable climate at mid-winter, in order that his "brains" may be sufficiently cool!

We are not yet quite ready to turn our attention to the Report before us, but we shall not overlook the important views and suggestions which we are glad to see it contains. We shall be all the more willing to quote from Mr. Clarke, from the fact that, as our readers will see, he fully sustains opinions which we expressed years ago, and frequently since, and for which we received no slight amount of abuse from certain companies. But for a moment we will address ourselves exclusively to that class who maintain the honor of American underwriters, securing for them a prestige confessedly superior to that of any other Insurance fraternity in the world.

If there is one thing above another which Life Insurance companies in this country should have learned by experience, it is em-

braced in a single word—*conservatism*—conservatism as regards rates, selection of life, reserve and character of investments; in short, conservatism as regards everything which goes to make up the prosperity of the business. The great Life Insurance interests of this country amount in round numbers, to, say, \$250,000,000 of assets, of which a large proportion is in United States, state, city and town stock, and mortgages upon real estate, bearing a rate of interest somewhat, but not largely, in excess of that adopted by the Companies in the calculation of their rates of premium. Still another proportion of this large amount is in securities available in payment of losses or surrender of policies, such as premium notes and deferred premiums, especially the latter item, which do not yield so large a rate of interest as what is technically called "cash assets;" hence the average rate of interest is not at the present time more than six per cent. per annum, if as much.

At a late session of the National Insurance Convention in this city, the Committee upon the subject of "Interest and Mortality" presented a report in which it is stated that a rough calculation would make the average rate of interest for the year 1870, received upon the aforesaid \$250,000,000 to be 5.8 per cent. It is understood that this calculation has been verified by Mr. Clarke of Massachusetts who made an able argument in the convention in favor of the standard of reserve adopted by his own State, viz., 4 per cent. The Convention voted almost unanimously to recommend the adoption of a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. valuation, using as a basis the so called American Experience table of mortality. This rate of interest and table are those adopted by the State of New York in its calculations of reserves of Life Companies. It is understood that two votes (Mr. Clarke of Massachusetts and Mr. Harvey of Missouri) were thrown in favor of a 4 per cent. valuation and the present basis of mortality adopted as a standard in Massachusetts.

Now, we highly respect the opinions of the actuaries and managers of Life companies of whom the convention was composed, but we differ from the majority in seeing nothing in these perilous times, when almost a whole city is destroyed in a night, and when we find millions upon millions of dollars abstracted under our very noses, to warrant a permanent change from a 4 per cent. to a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. reserve, assuming as a basis of mortality an experience which is of but little or no value in a practical point of view, and for the following reasons: First, any change from a high to a lower rate of reserve by adopting a higher rate of interest is uncalled for, in view of the downward tendency of interest in this country, and from the fact that the companies are now realizing only upon investments less than two per cent. in excess of the standard *known to be entirely safe*. Second, as a basis to be actually employed in calculating reserves, the American Experience table of mortality is of *no value*. It is the experience of but one company out of fifty, and was made twelve or more years since, when no violent competition had entered into the business of Life Insurance, such as has been noticed in the past five or ten years, and out of which the companies cannot retreat without great pecuniary loss.

We believe that Mr. Clarke of Massachusetts spoke the opinion of conservative Life insurance men, when he said he found the standard adopted by Massachusetts, viz: a 4 per cent. rate of interest, using the combined Experience or Actuaries' table of mortality as a basis. He said, "If we adopt the American Experience table, which is not old enough to be taken as safe, we shall be cutting loose from what we know to be safe." Later in his argument he said, speaking of the Life companies doing business in Massachusetts, "A majority of those companies are satisfied with our standard, and declare that they want no change. A company that can sustain itself under a 4 per cent. reserve, commands the confidence of the community." And yet these words of wisdom fell still-born upon the convention. Why? Because it was intended from the first that a lower reserve should be adopted to put the weak companies upon their legs. As journalists having an eye to the interests of Life insurance in this country, by which we mean the rights of the hundreds of thousands of policy-holders—we say upon our mature judgment, that the convention did an unwise thing in not establishing the reserve at 4 per cent. instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$, and an equally unwise thing in recommending as a basis of mortality the experience of a single American company.

The argument of Mr. Clarke, the Massachusetts commissioner, strikes us forcibly as having negatived the subsequent action of the majority of the convention and nullified their votes; for, after what he stated, he could not be expected to vote for an alteration of the rate of interest or basis of reserve, or lend his influence therefor in his own State, so that the effect of his vote is practically to control a high standard of reserve, at least so far as the requirements of his state are concerned. Without the endorsement of Massachusetts—which state, we apprehend, will not change its high rate of reserve—no Life company can be said to be in full communion. As Massachusetts, by her then Insurance commissioner, Elizur Wright, was the first to institute a standard of safety and regulate the business of Life Insurance within her limits, so she will be the last to change that standard, unless it can be made to appear that so important a change is absolutely necessary. We confess that we should rather be to-day in the position of the Insurance commissioner of Massachusetts, with his standard of perfect safety, than with the majority of the convention in their opposition to that standard.

It is a pretty safe rule in Life Insurance, as it is in other matters, to leave well enough alone; and to go on in the old road, obtaining moderate rates of interest, paying fair commissions to agents, using judgment in the selection of lives, and doing nothing that a practical man would not do for the care and security of a trust fund, rather than try the path of speculation; for the higher the rate of interest the greater the risk, and the larger the commission paid to agents the poorer the lives. The result is that the old rules of twenty-five years' standing are in danger of being reversed in the new order of things. We shall continue to cry aloud in aid of that CONSERVATISM in life insurance, which tends to keep the companies safe beyond the shadow of a doubt, and from which any departure will drag them down to the level of lottery offices, or gambling rooms. Already public confidence has begun to waver when it needed strength.

The business of 1871 will soon be told, and we predict it will show *a greater falling off than during any previous year, as well as a lower rate of interest received on investments*; then the enquiry can be pertinently put to the members of the late convention, "Why did you not hold fast to what you knew to be safe for all time, rather than grope in the dark?"

But our space is rapidly diminishing, and the Massachusetts Report is still untouched. As the publication of the tables had been delayed, though for good reasons, until its figures had, in general, become rather stale, we need take notice now only of principles which do not fluctuate. Referring to the examinations of from thirty to forty companies located in different States, Mr. Clarke makes some observations, to the justice of which every sensible man who knows anything of the subject will readily assent:

"Under a wise provision in section four, herewith cited, publication of the result of any examination is not required, unless deemed expedient for public interest and protection. Acting in harmony with this provision, yet rigidly obedient to the spirit and purpose of the law, and regarding the best interests of those most concerned (the insured), duty has *not thus far called for special publication of results, nor the exposure of any Company under surveillance*. It is a pleasure to state, in this connection, that, in most instances, particularly in Massachusetts, these recent examinations have developed financial improvement; while in every case of actual impairment, the Commissioner's demand for immediate and effectual security, as contemplated by law, has met with prompt and courteous compliance. It is believed that all interests are best served in the adoption of such a policy, except when a more summary procedure is absolutely demanded.

No Company, *however well established its reputation and solvency*, can pass the ordeal of an official investigation without serious embarrassment, unless such investigation is wisely and cautiously conducted, especially to prevent *sensational results, false rumors and unnecessary public distrust*. Otherwise irreparable injury may be inflicted not only upon a Company and its patrons, but upon the business in which both have important mutual interests." (Sixteenth Ann. Rep. p. ix.)

The truth of this will be the more obvious if it be remembered how those examinations are sometimes brought about. Many a time these seven years past we have denounced the *habitual practice on the part of certain companies of doing all in their power to bring their rivals into discredit*. Thus, for example, we believe it is now five years since we incurred the high and deep displeasure of the New York Life by condemning certain documents issued in the name of one of its agents. Prior to this we had the honor, if such it could be called, of being ranked among the favorites of that institution. But neither its ex-alderman nor his deputy could ever forgive us for denouncing conduct like that alluded to as at once dishonorable and pernicious in its tendency. Now, we find exactly the same denounced in the Report before us:

"Perhaps one of the most fruitful sources of annoyance, disaffection and distrust in connection with life insurance, is the unnecessary, *dishonorable and fraudulent representations* now and then resorted to by *some unscrupulous agent*. No *defamation of a competing Company, however contemptible and uncalled for*; no gilt-edged promise of special advantages, large dividends, or other emoluments, *however impossible and fabulous*; in short, no *pretences, however specious and deceptive, seem too barefaced and shameless, if so be an unwilling risk can be captured*. These *disreputable and degrading appliances* are not only *damaging the business and weakening public confidence*, but the *policy-holder, deceived by such chicanery*, is too often led to feel himself *victimimized and defrauded*. The practice referred to is a great and growing evil, and the interests of life insurance demand its unqualified condemnation, even in this public and official manner." (p. lxvii.)

Is language like this anything new to our readers? Let the two extracts just quoted be read in connection with each other; then let our warnings be remembered. The company openly assailed, when we first remonstrated with the New York Life, was the *Etna Life of Hartford*. We urged that from all appearances this was an honest and honorable company, which ought not to be assailed. We were all the more ready to condemn the New York Life for its open attack on the *Etna* from our being well aware that it was at the same time doing all in its power, in private, to disparage and break down the reputation of several other of our best companies: such as the *Equitable*, the *Knickerbocker*, the *Manhattan*, etc.

It is not once that we have referred to these attempts, but several times. And when the *Knickerbocker* was so much asspersed that its officers deemed it due to themselves to demand an examination, we fully pointed out the causes. We did not say then, nor do we now, that the New York Life was alone in the work of vilifying its rivals, and trying to diminish or destroy the public confidence in their integrity and stability; but while fully recognizing the fact that there were others who also took an active part in the disreputable business, it may be remembered that we were not the less confident in predicting the complete vindication of the *Knickerbocker* even when it got into the exacting, expensive (we cannot say vulture-like!) hands of Superintendent Miller and his "aids."

But let us hear Mr. Clarke further. We have always denied that companies are to be considered well-managed, prosperous and strong in proportion as they issue a large number of policies; although there are some in which we have the most implicit confidence that are distinguished for their large increase of business. These, however, are but exceptions. If the facts be examined it will be found, in nine cases out of ten, that an increased number of policies is by no means evidence of increased prosperity, but rather of the reverse. This is particularly true at the present time. With the exception of two or three companies they are really the weakest and most unstable that have added the largest percentage to their policies within the last two years. This we could easily show; but for the reason already mentioned we forbear for the present, further than to allude in passing to glaring offenders, for the purpose of illustration. We prefer to confine ourselves at this season to the agreeable side of the picture. Referring to this branch of the subject Mr. Clarke says:—

"The figures indicate that several Companies have considered it the safer policy to curtail their business, or merely maintain their present positions, while awaiting possible contingencies. Such a course is *manifestly wise and prudent*, especially in view of existing business relations and prospects. It is moreover indicative of a growing consciousness, that reform has become an imperative necessity. Looking at the recklessness and extravagance so rampant in the past, and still largely prevalent, the conviction becomes inevitable that radical reformation is absolutely essential to an escape from premature insolvency. Life insurance contemplates higher and nobler purposes than the mere advancement of *private position and emolument*, and the sooner those engaged in its organization and management are made to realize the *crime of such prostitution*, the better will it be for those whose hopes of escape from poverty and suffering are contingent upon its safety and beneficence." (pp. xix., xx.)

Mr. Winston receives a pretty severe cut in this; although there are

several others, as well as the officers of the Mutual Life, whose chief object is the "mere advancement of private position and emolument," and who do not seem to "realize the crime of such prostitution." But our Insurance superintendents are excellent at what is vulgarly called "white washing." We have on a former occasion acknowledged our inability to determine whether Mr. Miller surpasses Mr. Barnes in this peculiar accomplishment, or *vice versa*. Each has done a very handsome job for the Mutual Life—making it "look nearly as well as new." The New York Life also has great reason to be grateful to those gentlemen. Thus, for example, when it resolved to prepare its "system" for swallowing up a moribund English company or two, or the carcases of companies already extinct, Mr. Barnes gave it a "first-rate" recommendation, which it had published as an advertisement, with a good deal more of the same sort, in all the leading papers of Great Britain and Ireland. This recommendation, in connection with the fact that the president of the New York Life once represented one of our wards as an alderman, seems to have had great influence in inspiring her Majesty's liege subjects on both sides of the Channel with that profound confidence in the company's integrity, stability, etc., which must have been necessary to bring about the great amalgamation which we understand is now an accomplished fact, and which we are informed, by some of the Insurance journals, will prove, both for British subjects and American citizens, one of the most "beneficent" things of which the pen of history can take note. Be this as it may, we entirely agree with Mr. Clarke that the sort of "prostitution," of which he speaks in the above extract, is as much a "crime" as any other.

Another fact we are all bound to admit is, that while it is true that there are New York Life companies which are not surpassed by any in the world, it is equally true that there are New England companies which may justly be regarded as models in their respective spheres, although we cannot give Massachusetts credit thus far for more than one of this class. Which of five this one is, it is almost superfluous to mention. There are very few intelligent men that take any interest in Life Insurance who need to be informed that the New England Mutual is, in every essential respect, an exemplary company.

Then in Hartford there are several excellent companies, but that which we have always regarded as the best is the Phoenix Mutual Life. We certainly have entire confidence in the Aetna Life and Charter Oak Life; we have never expressed a doubt, in public or private, of the integrity or stability of either, although there are some of their minor maxims which we think are open to criticism. But we really do not know a single fault that can justly be attributed to the Phoenix Mutual, except we regard in that light a certain impulsiveness, in most cases generous in its character, on the part of one of its officers, a gentleman who inherits not a little of the genius as well as the name, of the author of "A man's a man for a' that." We believe in old Prometheus so far as to think that a little *fire* is a necessary element even in an underwriter. At all events, we cannot regard its influence on the Phoenix as otherwise than vivifying and salutary, as long as

the company continues to illustrate, as it has hitherto done, the old adage "What is most honorable is also the safest."^{*}

But we must not take leave of New England and its model companies without citing Mr. Clarke in support of another theory which we have put forward more than once in these pages. Our readers may remember, that we have shown from carefully collected statistics, that in all the principal countries of Europe the people avail themselves of the benefits of Life Insurance precisely in proportion to their enlightenment, and to the amount of rational liberty which they enjoy. Thus, we showed that those countries ranked as follows, in regard to the number of policies which they respectively issued or purchased, in proportion to their population: England, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Russia. It is no surprise, therefore, to us, who have always regarded Massachusetts as the most enlightened of our States, to find the following passage in the Report before us:

"It is a very noticeable fact, that while the aggregate life business of the country indicates so large a decrease, the opposite result is significantly manifest in Massachusetts. The insurance effected within this State alone in 1870 by Companies chartered elsewhere (not including a child insurance), exceeded one hundred and forty one millions,—an actual excess of more than twenty-one millions over 1869, and one-third of all the new business transacted by all the Companies during the year! From their Massachusetts business of 1870 alone, the fifty-nine outside Companies realized the very handsome income of *nearly eight millions of dollars—an excess of twelve hundred thousand dollars over 1870.* Add to this almost four millions more of fire and marine premiums collected in the same year by outside competitors, and we have the generous sum of about *twelve millions of dollars in premium receipts carried out of the State in a single year,*—nearly enough to pay three-quarters of the present outstanding war debt of the Commonwealth!

So much for intelligence in its bearing on Life Insurance. As we have often said, an enlightened community renders a well-managed, faithful company solid and stable, but creates no sensation in doing so; and it was as an interesting and agreeable illustration of this fact that the New England Mutual first attracted our attention.

Now, if we had time and space we could adduce abundant evidence of another fact equally remarkable, and equally creditable to the schools and colleges of Massachusetts, namely, that in general the Bay State has patronized New York and Hartford Companies, or rejected their policies, in proportion as their real character is good, bad, or indifferent. The people of Massachusetts like those who do good in a quiet, unostentatious way, and who always keep their word without sulterage or quibble; accordingly, during the period mentioned by Mr. Choke they have increased to no slight extent the capacities for doing good—already confessedly large—of the Manhattan Life and Security Life. And we can assure them that they are entirely safe in doing so—as safe as if all they become entitled to, from those companies, were deposited, subject to their order, in the famous vaults of the National Park Bank, under the immediate care of Mr. Worth and his most faithful teller.

The Massachusetts people are lovers of "fair play;" this laudable feeling they inherit from their English ancestors; and it has led them to sym-

^{*} Quod pulcherrimum, idem tutissimum est.—Livius, xxxiv, 14.

pathize with the Knickerbocker Life when assailed and vilified by its unworthy rivals, so that that spirited, enterprising company stands higher and stronger in the Bay State at this moment than it ever did before—much higher and stronger than those companies which, as already intimated, made such desperate efforts to crush it. There could be no greater libel on intelligence than to represent it as opposed to unusual boldness and intrepidity, especially when those qualities are combined with integrity, perseverance, good sense, etc. Accordingly, goodly proportions of the millions alluded to by the commissioner have found their way into the coffers of the old Equitable Life and the young New York Continental Life. For some of the best reasons why the Manhattan Life is popular in Massachusetts, its modest but faithful and intelligent offspring, the New York National Life, is also popular in that thoughtful, shrewd Commonwealth. And the United States Life would have been well received if for no other reason than that its president was once one of the principal and most faithful agents of the Phoenix Mutual, a company so much like the New England Mutual in some of its best characteristics.

The fact of our having presented to our readers so many extracts from the Report before us, is sufficient evidence of the high estimation in which we hold the views of the Massachusetts commissioner. Yet we cannot pretend that we agree with him in all particulars. Without any disposition to be captious, we think that two-thirds of his numerous tables are of exceedingly little value. It is impossible to compare them with the tables of either Mr. Wright or Mr. Sandford, without being convinced of the vast superiority of the latter. Indeed, one of the tables of his predecessor, tells much more than Mr. Clarke's fifteen tables. We shall certainly expect better from the Massachusetts commissioner in his next Report. We are convinced that Mr. Clarke is an honest man, and we have shown that he makes excellent suggestions and gives expression to sound views. We should, therefore, find no fault, were it not that the worst companies sometimes make nearly as good a figure in his tables as the best. Take, for example, the Mutual Benefit, and the New Jersey Mutual. None doubt that both are honest and sound. As for the former, it is one of the best, as well as one of the oldest in the country; but, as we have said, that some of the worst companies make nearly as good a show in the tables before us. This should not be so, and we hope it will not be in future.

When we penned our last criticisms on Fire Insurance, the Chicago fire had not yet occurred, but whoever has the curiosity to turn to our September number will see that our readers ought not to have been surprised at the failure of certain companies. Thus, for instance, we showed that the Security's percentage of surplus was only .64., and quoted from a former number as to the degree of confidence inspired in us by its boasted "marble palace,"—closing our comments with the following remark: "Still the Security may prove a good company, but we confess our fear in that respect is greater than our hope."^{*}

We should not have referred to any of our predictions in regard to the

^{*} N. Q. R. No. xiv. p. 403.

Security, but we see its president—the very man that brought the company to ruin—recommended for a new career in underwriting, by parties, whose zeal he has doubtless inspired by some of the money that ought to have gone to Chicago, or to some place nearer home. We are thus assured that everybody ought to help to resuscitate the defunct Security, if only to enable its late president to give the world new proof of his wonderful skill and incorruptible integrity as an insurance guardian. For our own part, we would as soon urge the restoration of the Ring, and recall its “Brains” from Canada to devise some new plan for robbing the public. There are several other presidents of defunct and moribund concerns whose case is very much like that of the Security gentleman. Instead of aiding those persons to palm themselves off on the public for another term as underwriters, we would advise them to get situations as clerks, or “drummers” wherever they can.

Far be it from us to deny that some excellent companies have been crushed by the great fire; but the number of this class is not one-tenth so large as certain parties would have the world believe. The majority only wanted an excuse to die. That a company like the Washington Fire should have been obliged to close its business is, indeed, a public loss. For the same reason, it were well for the public that it could resume its work. Most cheerfully do we admit that underwriters, like those of the Washington, should not be allowed to retire from a profession which they have contributed so much to elevate in public estimation, by their intelligence, energy and integrity, but be afforded renewed opportunities of illustrating the ancient maxim—

*Magnum, atque in magnis positum populusque vivisque,
Adversam ostendere fidem.**

But we confess it would puzzle us to point out half a dozen officers, among those whose companies have passed into the hands of the receiver, to whom any similar language can be justly applied. We intend to show in our next number that not only has the world no great cause of grief after all, for three-fourths of the insurance deaths attributed to the Chicago fire, but also that a goodly number of companies still remain whose early demise would be no calamity save to their officers and puffers.

We have said more than once that we had more confidence in the policy of the modest, quiet Hope Fire than we had in the boastful, noisy Home Fire. Some pretended to regard this comparison as very absurd, but how is it to-day? The Hanover Fire is another Company which we have always regarded as honestly and ably managed. Now we learn that there is not one of its Chicago claims shown to be just or fair, which it has not paid; and while sending its checks, its business, like that of the Hope, has increased fifty per cent.

* Silius Italicus. *Pan.* xi., 167.

NOTICE.

Redemption of 5-20 Bonds of 1862.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Dec. 7, 1871.

By virtue of the authority given by an act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled "An Act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," I hereby give notice that the principal and accrued interest of the bonds hereinbelow designated, known as Five-twenty Bonds, will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in the City of Washington, on and after the 7th day of March, 1872, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day. That is to say, coupon bonds known as the SECOND SERIES, act of February 25, 1862, dated May 1, 1862, as follows:

\$50 from No. 1 to No. 5,460, both inclusive.

\$100 from No. 1 to No. 13,093, both inclusive.

\$500 from No. 1 to No. 7,964, both inclusive.

\$1000 from No. 1 to No. 11,120, both inclusive.

And registered bonds of the same act as follows:

\$50 from No. 596 to No. 697, both inclusive.

\$100 from No. 4,104 to No. 5,079, both inclusive.

\$500 from No. 1,900 to No. 2,483, both inclusive.

\$1,000 from No. 8,907 to No. 11,008, both inclusive.

\$5,000 from No. 2,666 to No. 3,402, both inclusive.

\$10,000 from No. 2,907 to No. 3,899, both inclusive.

Of the amount outstanding, (embraced in the numbers as above,) sixteen million (\$16,000,000) dollars are coupon bonds and four million (\$4,000,000) dollars are registered bonds.

Coupon bonds of the act of February 25, 1862, were issued in four distinct series. Bonds of the first series (all of which have been previously called for redemption) do not bear the series designation, upon them, while those of the SECOND, third, and fourth series are distinctly marked on the face of the bonds.

United States securities forwarded for redemption should be addressed to the "LOAN DIVISION," Secretary's Office, and all registered bonds should be "assigned to the Secretary of the Treasury for redemption."

GEO. S. BOUTWELL, Secretary.

**NEW ENGLAND
MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.
OF BOSTON.**

Branch Office, 110 Broadway, New York.

DIRECTORS IN BOSTON:

SEWELL TAPPAN,
MARSHALL P. WILDER,
JAMES S. AMORY,
CHARLES HUBBARD,
GEORGE H. FOLGER,

HOMER BARTLETT,
DWIGHT FOSTER,
JAMES STURGIS,
W. W. TUCKER,
BENJ. F. STEVENS.

BENJAMIN F. STEVENS,
President.

JOSEPH M. GIBBENS,
Secretary.

Accumulation, - - - - \$9,000,000
Distribution of Surplus in 26 yrs. 4,000,000
Losses paid in 27 years, \$4,200,000.

Policies of all descriptions are issued by this Company.

**Distributions of Surplus are to be made annually, and payable as
the premiums fall due.**

Printed documents pertaining to the subject, together with the report
of the Company for the past year, and tables of premiums, supplied
gratis, or forwarded free of expense, by addressing

SAMUEL S. STEVENS,

AGENT AND ATTORNEY FOR THE COMPANY,

No. 110 BROADWAY,

Cor. Pine Street,

NEW YORK.

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OF THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW,

OF WHICH COPIES CAN BE FURNISHED.

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[See page 21.]

STEINWAY & SONS,
MANUFACTURERS OF
GRAND, SQUARE, AND UPRIGHT
PIANO-FORTES,

Begin to announce a General Reduction in their prices, in accordance with the decline in the premium on gold and consequent decreased cost of imported articles used in the manufacture of Piano-Fortes. In addition to their established styles of Piano-Fortes, STEINWAY & SONS, in order to meet a long felt and frequently-expressed want by persons of moderate means, teachers, schools, etc., have perfected arrangements for the manufacture of an entirely new style of instrument, termed

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A thoroughly complete instrument of seven octaves, precisely the same in size, scale, interior mechanism, and workmanship as their highest-priced seven-octave Pianos, the only difference being that this new style of instrument is constructed in a perfectly plain yet extremely neat exterior case. These new instruments will be supplied to those who desire to possess a thoroughly first-class "Steinway Piano," yet are limited in means, at exceedingly moderate prices. STEINWAY & SONS also desire to call attention to

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NEW YORK.

Continental Life Insurance Company
OF
NEW YORK,

Office, Nos. 22, 24 and 26 NASSAU STREET.

Policies issued in 1870,

12,537.

Assets, Dec. 31, 1870.

\$4,500,000

Total Policies issued,

Over 35,000



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Medical Examiner,
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THE
MANHATTAN
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
OF NEW YORK,

Nos. 156 and 158 BROADWAY.

No experiment, but an established institution.

ORGANIZED A. D., 1830.

The report for 1870, made from the sworn statements for the year 1870, now being prepared by the New York Insurance Department, can be procured at the office of the Company. Insurers are informed that the elaborate statement for the last year (1869), now published by that department, and the statement published by the Massachusetts Insurance Department, can be seen at any time at the office, and at the principal agencies of this Company.

The report shows a very favorable condition of affairs; over \$530,000 have been paid for claims by death, of which—

82 were paid to widows, insuring.....	\$296,420
11 were paid to orphans, insuring.....	39,119
29 were paid to the estate of insurers.....	97,000
3 were paid to Self-Endowments.....	1,793
10 were paid to assignees, insuring.....	51,895
20 had been in force less than two years, insuring.....	50,700
11 were the result of accidents, assuring.....	42,000

Over \$600,000 was returned to insurers in the shape of Dividends and purchase of policies.

The ratio of expenses to receipts was only about 12 per cent. of the income. The interest account alone is over 65 per cent. more than the total expenses.

HENRY STOKES, President.

C. Y. WEMPLE, Vice-President.

J. L. HALSEY, Secretary.

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III. Russian Literature. Past and Present.
IV. Cemeteries and Modes of Burial, Ancient and Modern.
V. College of the Holy Cross. | VI. Leibnitz as a Philosopher and Discoverer. [Africa]
VII. The Negro and the White Man in
VIII. Our Presidents and Governors compared to Kings and Petty Princes.
IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
|---|---|

No. XVIII.

September, 1864.

- | | |
|---|--|
| I. Chemistry; its History, Progress, and Utility.
II. Vico's Philosophy of History.
III. Elizabeth and her Courtiers.
IV. Do the Lower Animals Reason?
V. William Pitt and his Times. | VI. Spinoza and his Philosophy.
VII. Commencements of Colleges, Universities, etc.
VIII. Emigration as Influenced by the War.
IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
|---|--|

No. XIX.

December, 1864.

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. Pericles and his Times.
II. The Civilizing Forces.
III. Chief-Justice Taney.
IV. Spanish Literature—Lope de Vega.
V. Currency—Causes of Depreciation. | VI. Leo X and his Times.
VII. Chemical Analysis by Spectral Observations.
VIII. The President's Message.
IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
|--|---|

No. XX.

March, 1865.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. Italian Poetry—Ariosto.
II. Lunar Phenomena.
III. Grahame of Claverhouse and the Covenanters.
IV. Our Gas Monopolies
V. Edward Everett. | VI. Machiavelli and his Maxims of Government.
VII. History, Uses, and Abuses of Petroleum.
VIII. Swedenborg and his New Religion.
IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
|--|--|

No. XXI.

June, 1865.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. The Celtic-Druids.
II. Wallenstein.
III. United States, Banking System—Past and Present.
IV. The New York Bar—Charles O'Connor.
V. Phases of English Statesmanship. | VI. Modern Correctors of the Bible.
VII. Ancient and Modern Discoveries in Medical Science.
VIII. The Lessons and Results of the Rebellion.
IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
|--|--|

No. XXII.

September, 1865.

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. Lord Derby's Translation of Homer.
II. William Von Humboldt as a Comparative Philologist.
III. The Wits of the Reign of Queen Anne.
IV. American Female Criminals.
V. The Negative Character of Cicero. | VI. The National Debt of the United States. [slans]
VII. The Civilization of the Ancient Persians.
VIII. Commencements of Colleges and Seminaries.
IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
|--|---|

[See page 25.]

UNITED STATES

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

No. 48 WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

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The Principal Features of this Company are
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And Applicable either toward the Reduction of the Premium,
 OR THE

Increase of the Policy.

No Unnecessary Restrictions upon Residence and Travel.

Extract from the Report of Supt. Miller, of his examination of the New Jersey Mutual Life Insurance Company, December 17, 1870

I have made a thorough examination of the affairs of the NEW JERSEY MUTUAL LIFE INS. CO. The result of that examination has been to satisfy me that the business of the Company is systematically and honorably conducted, and that its financial condition is such as to entitle it to public confidence.

George W. Miller, Supt. Ins. Department.

OFFICERS.

WILLIAM M. FORCE, President. **CHARLES C. LATHROP, Vice-President.**
CHARLES H. BRINKERHOFF, Actuary and Acting Secretary.

No. XXIII.

December, 1865.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| I. Authenticity of Ossian's Poems. | VI. Lord Palmerston. |
| II. Daniel Webster and his Influence. | VII. Museums and Botanical Gardens. |
| III. The Symbolism of the Eddas. | VIII. The President's Message. |
| IV. Character and Destiny of the Negro. | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
| V. Epidemics and their Causes. | |

No. XXIV.

March, 1866.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| I. Galileo and his Discoveries. | V. The President's Veto—Rights to |
| II. Australia—its Progress and Destiny. | Conquered. |
| III. International Courtesy—Mr. Bancroft's | VI. Lossing and His Works. |
| Oration. | VII. Pain and Anaesthetics. |
| IV. Sydney Smith and his Associates. | VIII. British Rule in Ireland. |
| | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |

No. XXV.

June, 1866.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| I. Socrates and his Philosophy. | VI. The South American Republics and |
| II. The natural system. | the Monroe Doctrine. |
| III. Heine and his Works. | VII. Greek Tragic Drama—Sophocles. |
| IV. Why the Opera fails in New York. | VIII. Partisan Reconstruction. |
| V. Buddhism and its Influence. | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |

No. XXVI.

September, 1866.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| I. The Julius Caesar of Napoleon III. | VI. Irish Law and Lawyers. |
| II. The Philosophy of Death. | VII. Sample of Modern Philosophy. |
| III. Arabian Civilization, and What We | VIII. The National Convention and its |
| Owe It. | Work. |
| IV. Newton and his Discoveries. | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
| V. Our Colleges and our Churchmen. | |

No. XXVII.

December, 1866.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| I. Physiology and the Lessons it Teaches. | VI. The Acquisition of Knowledge Im- |
| II. Cuba—its Resources and Destiny. | posed by our Legislators. |
| III. Robert Boyle—his Influence on Science | VII. Indecent Publications. |
| and Liberal Ideas. | VIII. Education in Congress. |
| IV. Food and its Preparation. | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
| V. Hungary—her Literature and her Pros- | |
| pects. | |

No. XXVIII.

March, 1867.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. Alfieri: his Life, Writings, and Influ- | VI. Negro Rule in Hayti and the Lessons |
| ence. | it Teaches. |
| II. Oliver Cromwell: his Character and | VII. The Sun and its Distance from the |
| Government. | Earth. |
| III. The Temporal Power of the Pope | VIII. Insurance—Good, Bad, and Indiffer- |
| IV. Chatterton and his Works. | ent. |
| V. Poisons and Poisoners. | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |

No. XXIX.

June, 1867.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| I. The Ancient Phœnicians and their | VI. Fichte and his Philosophy. |
| Civilization. | VII. What the Politicians make of our |
| II. Ornithology of North America. | Postal System. |
| III. Origin of Alphabetic Writing. | VIII. Euler and his Discoveries. |
| IV. Virgil and his new Translator. | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
| V. Release of Jefferson Davis <i>vs.</i> Military | |
| Domination. | |

No. XXX.

September, 1867.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| I. The Jews and their Persecutions. | VI. Assassination and Lawlessness in |
| II. Have the Lower Animals souls or | the United States. |
| Reason? | VII. The Jesuits in North America and |
| III. Winckelmann and Ancient Art. | Elsewhere. |
| IV. Dante and his new Translator. | VIII. The Civil Service in the United |
| V. What has Bacon Originated or Dis- | States. |
| covered? | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |

[See page 27.]

THE MUTUAL BENEFIT
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,
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Net Assets, Jan. 1, 1871 214,240

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Joseph Grafton,	Amos Robbins,	J. W. Merseman,
D. L. Eigenbrodt,	William Remsen,	Stephen Hyatt,

JACOB REESE, President.

JAMES E. MOORE, Secretary.

No. XXXI.

December, 1867.

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. Greek Comedy—Menander. | V. Nebular Astronomy. |
| II. Animal Magnetism; its History, Character, and Tendency. | VI. Martin Luther and the Old Church. |
| III. Management of our Finances; Ruinous Influence of Paper Money. | VII. Mediæval German Literature—Eschenbach. |
| IV. Lafayette, as a Patriot and Soldier. | VIII. Heraldry: Its Origin and Influence. |
| | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |

No. XXXII.

March, 1868.

- | | |
|---|--|
| I. Epicurus and his Philosophy. | V. The Venetian Republic and its Council of Ten. |
| II. English Newspapers and Printing in the Seventeenth Century. | VI. Progress Made by American Astronomers. |
| III. Progress and Influence of Sanitary Science. | VII. Supernatural Phenomena. |
| IV. The Microscope and its Discoveries. | VIII. Impeachment of the President. |
| | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |

No. XXXIII.

June, 1868.

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. Seneca as a Moralist and Philosopher. | VII. The Discoveries of Hipparchus and Ptolemy. |
| II. Present Aspect of Christianity. | VIII. The Impeachment Trial and its Results. |
| III. Chess in our Schools and Colleges. | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
| IV. The Rational Theory. | |
| V. Thomas Aquinas and his Writings. | |
| VI. Illustrated Satirical Literature. | |

No. XXXIV.

September, 1868.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. Nicholas Copernicus. | VI. "Strikes" <i>versus</i> Wages and Capital. |
| II. Three Centuries of Shakespeare. | VII. Comets and their Orbits. |
| III. Epidemics—Ancient and Modern. | VIII. Our Presidential Candidates. |
| IV. The Siege of Charleston. | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
| V. Our Colleges and Seminaries, Male and Female. | |

No. XXXV.

December, 1868.

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. Infernal Divinities—Ancient and Modern. | VI. George William Frederick Hegel. |
| II. Early Christian Literature. | VII. The "Miraculous Element" in our Periodicals. |
| III. The Sorrows of Burns. | VIII. Ancient Etruria. |
| IV. The Phenomena of Sound. | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |
| V. Orangeism in Ireland: its History and Character. | |

No. XXXVI.

March, 1869.

- | | |
|---|--|
| I. Diogenes the Cynic. | V. Columbia College. |
| II. The Turco-Greek Question. | VI. The Ruling Class in England. |
| III. Beranger and his Song. | VII. Celtic Music. |
| IV. Successive Conquests and Races of Ancient Mexico. | VIII. President Grant and his Cabinet. |
| | IX. Notices and Criticisms. |

[See page 3]

GRAND HOTEL DU LOUVRE, PARIS, RUE DE RIVOLI,

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ISAAC H. ALLEN, Secretary.

YEAR ORGANIZED, 1862.

POLICIES IN FORCE, Dec. 31, 1870, No. 14,686. AMOUNT INSURED, \$37,338,978.

NEW POLICIES ISSUED IN 1870, No. 5,324. AMOUNT INSURED, \$14,088,498.

RECEIPTS IN 1870.—Total Premiums, \$1,476,402 97
Cash Premiums, 900,868 73
Note Premiums, 575,574 24
Interest Receipts, 109,752 69
Gross Income in 1870, 1,592,465 46

EXPENDITURES IN 1870.—Losses Paid, including Dividend Additions,
Cash, \$318,181.34. Notes, \$29,278.11 368,762 45
Payments on all Policy Claims other than death, 937 91
Annuities
Matured Endowments, 134,247 78
Surrenders, 19,772 68
Reinsurances, 174,646 14
Dividends to Policy-holders, 12,935 00
" Stockholders, 12,288 00
Taxes, 396,037 28
All other Expenditures, 1,117,628 12
Gross Disbursements, 2,964,931 38

Gross Assets, including Capital, Jan. 1, 1871, 2,587,620 50
Estimated Reinsurance Reserve, 2,632,371 33
Total Liabilities, exclusive of Capital Stock, 2,632,371 33

LIBERAL COMMISSIONS TO EXPERIENCED AGENTS.

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FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY,
(Incorporated 1852.)

OFFICE, No. 120 BROADWAY,
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CASH CAPITAL,	-	-	-	-	\$400,000 00
GROSS SURPLUS, Jan. 1, 1871,	-	-	-	-	300,334 64
GROSS ASSETS,	-	-	-	-	\$700,334 64

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I. REMSON LANE, Secy.

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CITY OF BALTIMORE, - - - -	Saturday, Dec. 30, "
CITY OF WASHINGTON, - - - -	Saturday, Jan. 6, 1872.
CITY OF LONDON, - - - -	Saturday, Jan. 13, "

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1st Cabin.....	\$75
To London.....	80
To Paris	90

PAYABLE IN CURRENCY.

Steerage.....	\$30
To London.....	35
To Paris.....	38

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For Pittsburgh, Chicago and Cincinnati:

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"	CINCINNATI.....	27 "
"	CHICAGO.....	27 "
"	ST. LOUIS.....	42 "

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PUBLIC NOTICE.

CITY OF NEW YORK, DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE, }
BUREAU OF THE RECEIVER OF TAXES, }
COURT HOUSE, PARK, No. 32 CHAMBERS STREET, }
December 20, 1871. }

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN TO ALL PERSONS who may have omitted to pay their taxes, to pay the same at this office before the 1st day of January, 1872. On and after that date interest at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum, calculated from October 4, 1871, to day of payment, will be added. On the 15th day of January, proximo, warrants will be issued for the collection of all personal taxes remaining unpaid on that date.

BERNARD SMYTH, Receiver.

No. XXXVII.

June, 1869.

- I. Vindication of Euripides.
- II. Rousseau and his Influence.
- III. The Parsees.
- IV. The Philosophy of Population.
- V. The Man with the Iron Mask.

- VI. Vassar College and its Degrees.
- VII. Henry Kirke White.
- VIII. The Irish Church.
- IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXXVIII.

September, 1869.

- I. The Byzantine Empire.
- II. Popular Illusions.
- III. The Primitive Races of Europe.
- IV. The Queen of Scots and her Traducers.
- V. The Troubadours and their Influence.
- VI. The Ethics and Aesthetics of our Summer resorts.

- VII. King Arthur and the Round Table Knights.
- VIII. Our Higher Educational Institutions: Male and Female.
- IX. Note to Vassar College Artists and our last Number.
- X. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXXIX.

December, 1869.

- I. Hindoo Mythology and its Influence.
- II. Hugo and Saint-Beuve.
- III. The Greek Church.
- IV. Women's Rights Viewed Physiologically and Historically.
- V. Robin Hood and his Times.

- VI. Our Millionaires and their Influence.
- VII. Mr. Gladstone and the Herole Ages.
- VIII. Eclipses and their Phenomena.
- IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XL.

March, 1870.

- I. Rabelais and his Times.
- II. National Organic Life.
- III. Louis XI. and his Times.
- IV. Opium and the Opium Trade.
- V. Erasmus and his Influence.

- VI. The French Crisis.
- VII. A Neighboring World.
- VIII. Our Criminals and Our Judiciary.
- IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XLI.

June, 1870.

- I. Rise of Art in Italy.
- II. Johann Ludwig Uhland.
- III. Rivers and their Influence.
- IV. Origin and Development of the Modern Drama.
- V. The Nations of the Persian Gulf.

- VI. Specimen of a Modern Epic.
- VII. Visit to Europe—Some Things usually Overlooked.
- VIII. Notices and Criticisms.
- IX. Appendix—Insurance: Good, Bad and Indifferent.

No. XLII.

September, 1870.

- I. Alfred the Great and his Times.
- II. Madame de Sevigne and her Letters.
- III. Icelandic Literature.
- IV. Yachting not merely Sport.
- V. The American Bar—William Pinkney.
- VI. Sophocles and his Tragedies.

- VII. The Abyssinian Church.
- VIII. The Franco-Prussian War.
- IX. Notices and Criticisms.
- X. Appendix—Insurance and its Contracts.

No. XLIII.

December, 1870.

- I. Female Artists.
- II. The Lost Sciences.
- III. Our Navy, and what it should be.
- IV. De Quincey and his Writings.
- V. The Structure of the Earth.

- VI. Causes of the Franco-Prussian War.
- VII. Development of the Celt Theology.
- VIII. Party Strife and its Consequences.
- IX. Notices and Criticisms.
- X. Appendix—Insurance.

No. XLIV.

March, 1871.

- I. Ceylon and its Mysteries.
- II. Cervoia.
- III. National Characteristics of French and German.
- IV. Central Park under Ring Leader Rule.
- V. Ancient Graves and their Contents.

- VI. German Minor Poets—Vrohlagent.
- VII. Specimen of a Modern Educational Young Ladies.
- VIII. Mountains and their Influence.
- IX. Notices and Criticisms.
- X. Appendix—Insurance: Good, Bad and Indifferent.

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Proposals for Letter Balances.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,)
December 22, 1871. }

Sealed Proposals will be received at this Department until the 24th day of January, 1872, at 12 noon, for furnishing Letter Balances for the use of the Post Offices in the United States for one year from and after the 1st day of February, 1872, of the following description, namely :

First—Balances capable of weighing eight ounces, avordupois weight, to be graduated down to quarter ounces. Of these it is supposed that 1,000 will be wanted.

Second—Balances of the same capacity, graduated by the metric or gramme system. Of this class 100 may be required.

Third—Balances capable of weighing four pounds, avoidupois weight, to be graduated to half ounces. Of this class it is supposed that 200 will be wanted.

Perfect accuracy, strength and durability will be required in the Balances to be furnished.

Samples of each description of Balances must accompany each bid, and the bidder who may obtain the contract will be required to furnish Balances of a quality in all respects equal to the sample.

Each Balance must be well and securely packed in a box for transportation, and delivered, free of all expense, to the Bank Agency, Washington, D. C.

Each bidder must furnish, with his proposal, guarantees of his ability to comply with his bid, and a certificate from a Postmaster that such guarantors are reliable persons.

Two sufficient sureties will be required to a contract.

Awards will be made for each article separately if deemed most advantageous to the Department.

A failure to furnish promptly any article contracted for, or an attempt to impose upon the Department articles inferior, in the opinion of the Postmaster-General, to those contracted for, will be considered sufficient cause for the forfeiture of the contract.

The Postmaster-General reserves the right to reject any or all bids if, in his opinion, it is required by the interests of the Department.

Proposals must be indorsed on the envelope, "Proposals for Letter Balances," and directed to the First Assistant Postmaster-General, Washington, D. C.

JNO. A. J. CRESWELL,
Postmaster-General.

NOTICE.

Redemption of 5-20 Bonds of 1862.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, DEC. 20, 1871.

By virtue of the authority given by an act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled "An Act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," I hereby give notice that the principal and accrued interest of the bonds herein below designated, known as Five-twenty Bonds, will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in the City of Washington, on and after the 20th day of March, 1872, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day. That is to say, coupon Bonds known as the SECOND SERIES, act of February 25, 1862, dated May 1, 1862, as follows:

COUPON—SECOND SERIES.

\$50—No. 5461 to No. 10775, both inclusive.
 \$100—No. 13094 to No. 25935, both inclusive.
 \$500—No. 7965 to No. 16179, both inclusive.
 \$1000—No. 11121 to No. 27443, both inclusive.

—\$16,000,000.

REGISTERED.

\$50—No. 698 to No. 840, both inclusive.
 \$100—No. 5080 to No. 5991, both inclusive.
 \$500—No. 2484 to No. 2958, both inclusive.
 \$1000—No. 11009 to No. 13150, both inclusive.
 \$5000—No. 3403 to No. 4102, both inclusive.
 \$10000—No. 3900 to No. 4774, both inclusive.

—\$4,000,000

Total.....\$20,000,000

Of the amount outstanding (embraced in the numbers as above) sixteen million (\$16,000,000) dollars are Coupon Bonds and four million (\$4,000,000) dollars are Registered Bonds.

Coupon Bonds of the act of February 25, 1862, were issued in four distinct series. Bonds of the first series (all of which have been previously called for redemption) do not bear the series designated upon them, while those of the second, third and fourth series are distinctly marked on the face of the bonds.

United States securities forwarded for redemption should be addressed to the "Loan Division," Secretary's Office, and all Registered Bonds should be "assigned to the Secretary of the Treasury for redemption."

The bonds specified in the notice of Dec. 7, will be paid upon presentation, together with all interest due.

GEO. S. BOUTWELL, Secretary

DIAMONDS.

The Diamond occupies the highest rank amongst precious stones, and possesses an intrinsic value in almost every part of the globe. Diamonds follow the same laws which govern the value of every other commodity—those of supply and demand—and as the production of these gems has diminished, and the number of wearers greatly increased, the price has gone on augmenting, and no doubt will continue to augment. Since 1849 a steady rise of from five to ten per cent. per annum has taken place in consequence of the production of the diamond mines decreasing. India and Brazil have been two great sources of supply, but the mines of the former are now nearly extinct, and Diamonds which were found there bear the trade name of "old mine" stones. The rough Diamond generally loses fifty per cent. of its weight in cutting and polishing. They can be cloven with facility in the direction parallel with the planes of the octahedron or dodecahedron; or, to use the lapidaries' expression, "splits easily with the grain." This quality much assists the otherwise tedious operation of cutting or grinding the Diamond, particularly where it is desired to get rid of flaws. Diamonds, when perfect, should be as clear as a drop of the purest water. This term, *FIRST WATER*, *SECOND WATER*, etc., mean only first and second quality. When a Diamond has a very decided color, such as blue, red, green, etc., it is called a fancy stone, and will bring a most exorbitant price. The Diamond cuts glass with great facility, but not every stone can be used for that purpose. It is required to find one whose angles are naturally acute. These stones are called "glaziers."

To select a perfect stone, first, it must be perfectly free from the faintest tinge of color of any sort—from any flaws, specks, marks, or fissures in any part; must be bright and lively, and free from what is technically called "milk" or "salt" which are semitransparent imperfections in the body of the stone. In order to ascertain this, it is sufficient to breathe on the stone, when any defect or color will be apparent. It is necessary to look at a stone on all sides, as a defect may exist which is not visible in looking at the table. Second, the stone must be well proportioned, and properly cut. From the table to the girdle must be one-third, and from the girdle to the cutlet two-thirds of the whole thickness of the stone. The size of the table must be four-ninths of the extreme size of the stone, and the cutlet must be one-fifth of the size of the table. These rules are given as the highest standard test, but so few stones are found that are really perfect, that for all commercial purposes, any imperfection that is not visible to the naked eye passes for a perfect gem.

RANDEL, BAREMORE & CO.,

Diamond Importers,

58 NASSAU STREET,

keep constantly on hand one of the largest and most attractive stocks of unset stones and mounted goods in New York City. They employ the most skillful workmen, and offer to the trade work of the newest styles, and of guaranteed excellence. The firm has long been established (being the oldest exclusively Diamond house in the trade), and their facilities for importing and offering the best goods to select from can be judged by all who inspect their stock.

Proposals for Wrapping Paper and Twine.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., }
December 22, 1871. }

Sealed Proposals will be received at this Department until the 24th day of January, 1872, at 12 o'clock noon, for furnishing Wrapping Paper and Twine for the use of the Post Offices in the United States for one year from the 1st day of February, 1872, the said articles to be delivered free of expense, to the Department, at the Blank Agency of the Post Office Department, Washington, D. C.

The quality and the estimated quantity of each article required are specified below :

- 18,000 reams of Wrapping Paper, 20 by 25 inches in size, and to weigh 22 pounds to the ream, each ream to contain 20 perfect quires.
- 150 reams of Wrapping Paper, 26 by 40 inches in size, and to weigh 55 pounds to the ream, each ream to contain 20 perfect quires.
- 80,000 pounds of Cotton Twine, in balls, to weigh about one-half pound each, to measure from 750 to 775 yards to the pound, to be 8 ply, and so bound as to prevent their becoming loose and tangled by transportation.
- 30,000 pounds of Coarse Hemp Twine, in balls, to weigh from one to two pounds each, to measure from 50 to 55 yards to the pound, to be 3 ply, and so bound as to prevent their becoming loose and tangled by transportation.

Samples of the articles required will be furnished to persons who desire to bid, on application to the First Assistant Postmaster-General, Washington, D. C.

More or less than the estimated quantities may be ordered as the necessities of the Department may require, at the discretion of the Postmaster-General.

Each bidder must furnish, with his proposal, guarantees of his ability to comply with his bid, and a certificate from a Postmaster that such guarantors are reliable persons.

Awards will be made for each article separately if deemed most advantageous to the Department.

Two sufficient sureties will be required to each contract.

A failure to furnish promptly any article contracted for, or an attempt to impose upon the Department articles inferior, in the opinion of the Postmaster-General, to those contracted for, will be considered sufficient cause for the forfeiture of the contract.

Bids not made in conformity with this advertisement will not be considered.

The Postmaster-General reserves the right to reject any or all bids, if, in his opinion, it is required by the interests of the Department.

Proposals must be indorsed on the envelope, "Proposals for Wrapping Paper," or "Proposals for Twine," and addressed to the First Assistant Postmaster-General, Washington, D. C.

JNO. A. J. CRESWELL,
Postmaster-General.

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